

Isabelo de los Reyes's

Ang Diablo sa Filipinas
ayon sa nasasabi
sa mga casulatan luma
sa Kastila

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Translated into English
with annotations

by

Benedict Anderson
Carlos Sardiña Galache
Ramon Guillermo

Ang Diablo sa Filipinas
El Diablo en Filipinas
The Devil in the Philippines

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INTRODUCTION

The plays of Aristophanes, the great Athenian comic dramatist, probably born 450 years before Jesus, are still, 2,050 years later, regularly restaged. This is not to say that collective social laughter didn't exist long before his time. But we recognize that laughter most decisively separates human beings from other animals, except hyenas.

I decided to translate *El Diablo en Filipinas* because it made me laugh (and each time I read it I still laugh.). So far as I know, Isabelo de los Reyes was the only member of the revolutionary generation who could cheerfully laugh at himself in print. Rizal was a master of sardonic wit, but his temperament ruled out laughing at himself. Their characters were almost exactly opposite: melancholy/cheerful, suspicious/trusting, unforgiving/forgiving, novelist/journalist, Manileño/ provinciano, Tagalog/ Ilocano, childless/ father of 24 kids, and so on.

Rizal's mockery was usually meant to hurt, but Isabelo's was to make fun. *El Diablo en Filipinas* was intended to mock chronicles, swamped with loony superstitions, written by missionary friars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He never attacked the long-dead chroniclers as human beings, but quoted, deadpan, many bizarre or comic passages in the texts that they had scribbled. Meanwhile, with characteristic Tagalog arrogance, Rizal wrote that Isabelo's Tagalog was far from perfect, but his victim never hit back by saying that Rizal didn't know a single word of Ilocano and never went to Northern Luzon. The First Filipino criticized Isabelo as a shallow writer, unreliable with facts, ignorant, and self-promoting, while Isabelo often wrote about Rizal with pure admiration. Despite his weaknesses—which all of us have—one can't avoid feeling that he was the nicest of the heroes of his time—let's say, by comparison with Rizal, the Luna brothers, Del Pilar, Mabini, Ponce and others.

The second reason to translate Isabelo into English is that these days the number of Filipinos who have mastered Spanish (modern and medieval) is pretty small. An annotated English version could function as a good base for 'academicized' versions in contemporary

Tagalog, Ilocano, and Visaya. Near the end of our work, Megan Thomas kindly told us that in 1889, two years after the publication of the text from which we have been working, the bilingual newspaper *La España Oriental* serialized *El Diablo* in four parts, each in both Spanish and Tagalog. Even more kindly she sent us scans of the four pieces. Thus we have included in our book the long- forgotten Tagalog translation completed when Isabelo was 25 years old.

* * *

Isabelo was born in Vigan in July 1864, three years after Rizal's birth in Calamba. In 1880, aged 16, he went to study at San Juan de Letrán and later the University of Santo Tomás in Manila. When he was 19, he started working as a journalist for various newspapers, 'specializing' in writing about folklore in the Philippines, the first *indio* to do so. It will be recalled that the term Folklore was first coined in 1846 in the London journal called *The Atheneum*. The first scholarly Folklore Association in the world was founded in England in 1878, when Isabelo was 14 years old. Perhaps as a trendy teenager, he was thrilled by the novelty of this 'science,' and started with unbelievable energy what today we call 'fieldwork' in Ilocos Sur, Malabon, and Zambales. He began to correspond with European Folklorists in Germany, Spain, Portugal, England and so on. He was convinced that the Philippines had very rich resources for medicine, astronomy, legends, and beliefs which could be a major contribution to the rational world-science being born.

* * *

1887: In February, Rizal (25 years old) finished the manuscript of *Noli Me Tangere*. In May, Isabelo (23 years old) won a silver medal at the Madrid Exposition for his folkloric contributions. It is usually taken for granted that this silver medal was given for the huge book called *El Folk-lore Filipino*, but since this work was only published in two volumes in 1889-1890, and in Manila, it is more likely that Isabelo was rewarded for his numerous contributions to different folklore journals in Spain. At the start of *El Folk-lore Filipino* Isabelo dedicated the book to all Spanish Folklorists, and expressed his gratitude to the two Founders of Spanish Folklore Studies, Antonio Machado y Álvarez and Alejandro Guichot y Sierra, for their support and friendship and their sending him free copies

of all the relevant journals. Six months after the Exposition, *El Diablo en Filipinas* was published in *Articulos Varios de Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino*, Isabelo's first book. Once again, Megan Thomas came to our rescue by sending us the original text that was serialized late in 1886 by the Manila newspaper *La Oceania Española*. Isabelo was only 23 years old! What a challenge to today's World Wide Web 23-year-old addicts!

* * *

The narrative of *El Diablo* is both simple and ingenious. It is basically a dialogue between 'T' (comedian, presumably 'Isabelo himself) and his Tagalog friend Gatmaitan (superstitious bibliophile). Learning of the death of a *directorcillo* in Bulacan, known for his library, the pair rush to talk to the dead man's widow. She lets them into the library except for an barred niche—which Gatmaitan thinks must be a magical 'little book' that seems not to be there. However, they find copies of a group of missionary chronicles in which there are sections focused on the Devil, demons, female seers, sorcerers, witches, etc. The two men argue at length about these passages—with 'T' the secular rationalist and Gatmaitan the superstitious believer. Eventually a rat crosses the library floor at full speed. Gatmaitan thinks that the rat is a demonic ghost of the *directorcillo*, panics, bangs his head against the library's exit door, and slumps. 'T' tries to help, but trips over Gatmaitan, and also bangs his head. The widow gets neighbours to give medicines to this Filipino Abbot and Costello. Then they flee out of sheer shame at their own folly.

* * *

Why did Isabelo write this comedy? First: to use the chronicles to show how mediievally superstitious friars were still wailing about the paganism, animism, and superstitions of the 'natives.' The Spaniards brought with them Catholic fantasies, which gradually entered into local languages—e.g. *demonio* (demonito too), *Diablo*, *Duende*, *Sirena*, *Kapre* and so on. Thus Satan arrived with the colonial conquest. But more importantly Isabelo wanted to put Catholic conceptions under the microscope of secular science, especially Folk-lore Studies. Legends and myths are well worth studying from the outside as mere passing cultural phenomena. Filipinos should learn to see Catholicism's imaginary in the same category as paganism's—pure Folklore.

Isabelo was also an early democrat, hence he used the format of dialogue, in contrast to the typical one-way style of Catholic teachings. Every social group can have its beliefs, but no big religious group has the right to denounce, oppress, and punish others in the name of Truth. For centuries the Catholic Church had done just that. It was as if he was telling the friars: Keep your fancies, fears, and myths to yourselves.

Second: In *El Folk-Lore Filipino* Isabelo says that he grew up thinking that Ilocanos and Tagalos were alien to each other. But soon he realized, by learning both languages, comparing customs, beliefs, and habits, that the two were deeply connected. *El Diablo* included stories from Samar, Panay, Cagayan, Camarines, Pangasinan, Abra, Ilo-Ilo, Bataan, Zambales, etc. in a way that showed how all these peoples and places had long been intertwined. In most of his works there is little about mestizos, Chinese, or peninsulars, etc. He worked from the bottom—egalitarianly. This is why he could name his big book *El Folk-lore Filipino*, and called this little book not *The Devil in Manila* or *Ilo-ilo*, but rather ‘in the Philippines’. In one of the most beautiful passages in *El Folk-lore Filipino* he speaks of the ‘pagan’ tribes of Abra as his brothers. He knew them well from childhood, respected them, and didn’t insist that they were just backward Ilocanos. This close-to-the-ground viewpoint doesn’t appear in the texts written by many other members of the Propaganda. In this sense, it seems to me that he was the true First Filipino. (Already in 1887 his editor, J.A. Ramos, wrote that Isabelo was regarded as the Father of the Folklore of the Philippines). This is not to dishonour Rizal, whom we should greatly admire and love, but to indicate that this great honour came out of his martyrdom. Only in Dapitan did he start to love and teach non-Tagalog children.

* * *

In 1896, suspected of being a party to Bonifacio’s uprising, Isabelo was arrested by the colonial regime, put in chains, and taken to the sinister Montjuich prison in Barcelona. There he was delighted by his friendships with Catalan anarchists, many of whom were tortured or executed. He learned a lot from them, and when he was free and went back to the Philippines he brought with him the books of Marx, Kropotkin, and Malatesta. In the face of American hostility, he built the first Filipino

trade union, later was elected as a councilor in the government of Manila from 1912-19, and as a Senator from 1922-28. He refused to buy a car to go to work, saying that he did not want to give any money to the US automobile conglomerates. He insisted on living in Tondo, providing decent places for the very poor to live—as far as he could. In Tondo too he loved to put on plays in Tagalog or fiesta-meetings for the working class.

* * *

In the difficult process of translating and understanding *El Diablo*, I have a huge early debt to Carlos Sardiña Galache, a wonderful young Spanish journalist whom I got to know in Bangkok. He corrected all my Spanish errors, and gave me many kinds of key information and amazingly subtle analysis about 19th century and early 20th century Spanish history and literature. Soon after came Ramon 'Bomen' Guillermo, my old friend and a brilliant, multilingual, and egalitarian scholar, who checked my draft translations, gave me xeroxes of documents of which I was ignorant, and sent me many shrewd insights. He also took over the task of recreating electronically the forgotten bilingual (Spanish and Tagalog) versions, serialized in 1889, by the Manila newspaper *La España Oriental*. We must thank him for making it possible for our book to be double-columned by English and Tagalog texts. Next: Megan Thomas, a former student of mine who did her great PhD thesis (later published) on Filipino intellectuals and proto-anthropologists among the Propaganda generation, now a Professor in UCSC, showed Bomen and I that Isabelo's original 'Devil' had been serialized as early as 1886 by the newspaper *La Oceanía Española*. She also lent us many good notes and documents she had compiled in her research. Towards the end of our work, my dear friend Ambeth Ocampo vetted the manuscript carefully, spotting some serious mistakes, and explaining the ins and outs of Friar history in the colonial era. Indonesian Ben Abel, my best of all friends, and known all over Southeast Asia as a great librarian in the legendary John Echols Collection within Cornell University's Olin Library, found us unknown rare documents in other university libraries as well a fantastic 18th century grand map of the Philippines. The Curator of the Echols Collection, Jeffrey Petersen, skilled in WorldCat, found us very significant material on Medieval Europe.

Finally, our debt is huge to Karina Bolasco, the Philippines' best and kindest editor and publisher of important books. Karina patiently pushed and encouraged me to complete this translation in time for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of a great Filipino and human being. I hope readers will understand in what follows that I usually use 'we' and 'our' rather than 'me' and 'mine.' What made this book possible was the comradeship between three Filipinos, one Spaniard, one Indonesian, two Americans, and one happy old Irishman.



Ang tunay na amo, napaaamo kahit demonyo.
(The real master tames even the devil.)

CHRONICLERS

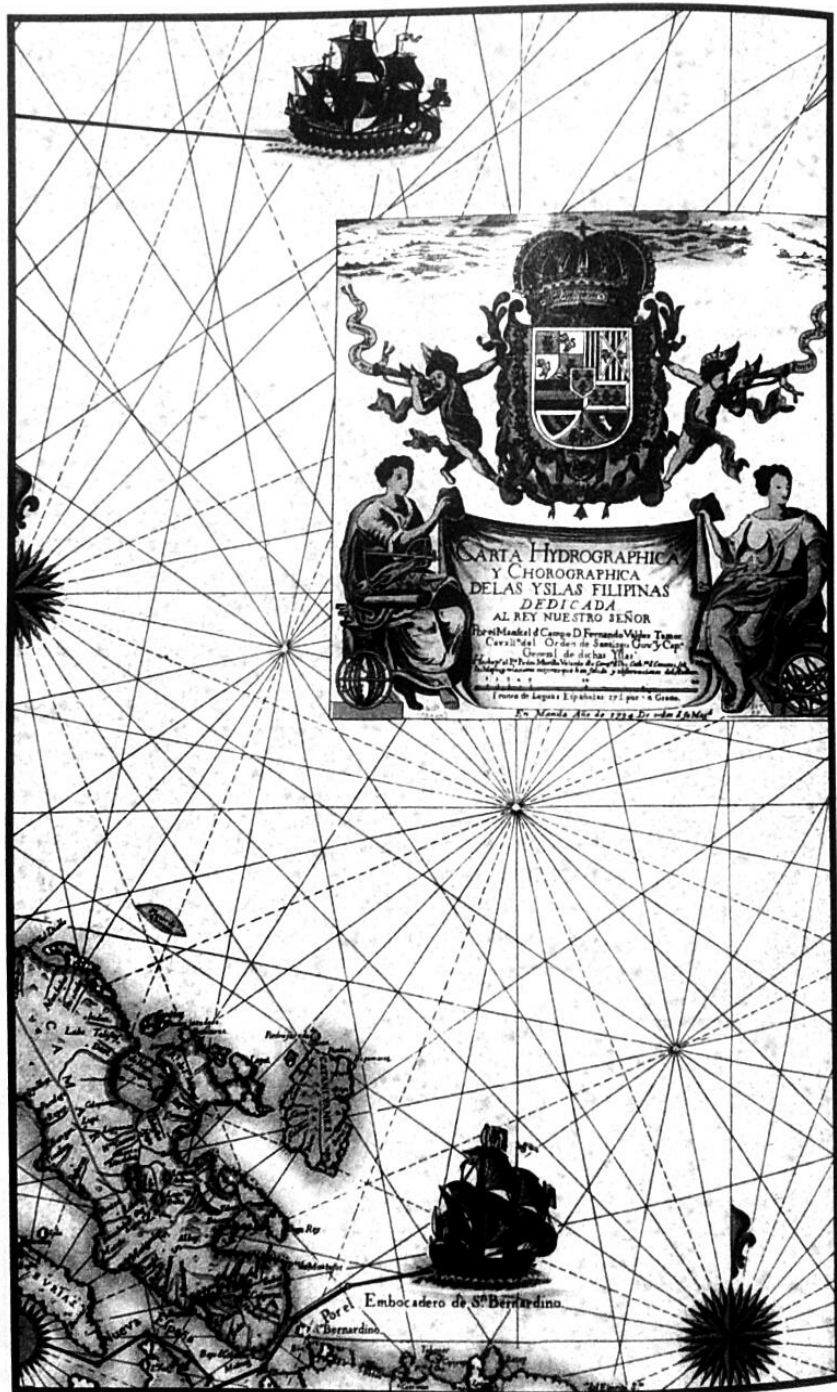
1. Diego Aduarte. Born in Zaragoza in 1566, and died in Nueva Segovia around 1636. A Dominican missionary, he landed at Manila in 1595. Efforts to spread Catholic Christianity in Thailand and Gujerat were painful failures, and so he returned to Manila and on to Spain. In 1610 he returned to the Philippines and eventually rose to be the Bishop of Cagayan (1632-1636). He worked on what he called the history of the Province of Saint Rosario [in the Philippines], Japan and China, and the achievements of the Sacred Order of the Dominicans. In 1640, five years after his death, the manuscript was printed first in Manila, and in 1693 in his home-town Zaragoza.

2. Francisco Colín, SJ. All we know at this point is that he lived in the Philippines from 1625-60, sharing ten years with Aduarte, his senior. His famous work, *Labor Evangelica*, was first published in Madrid in the year 1663.

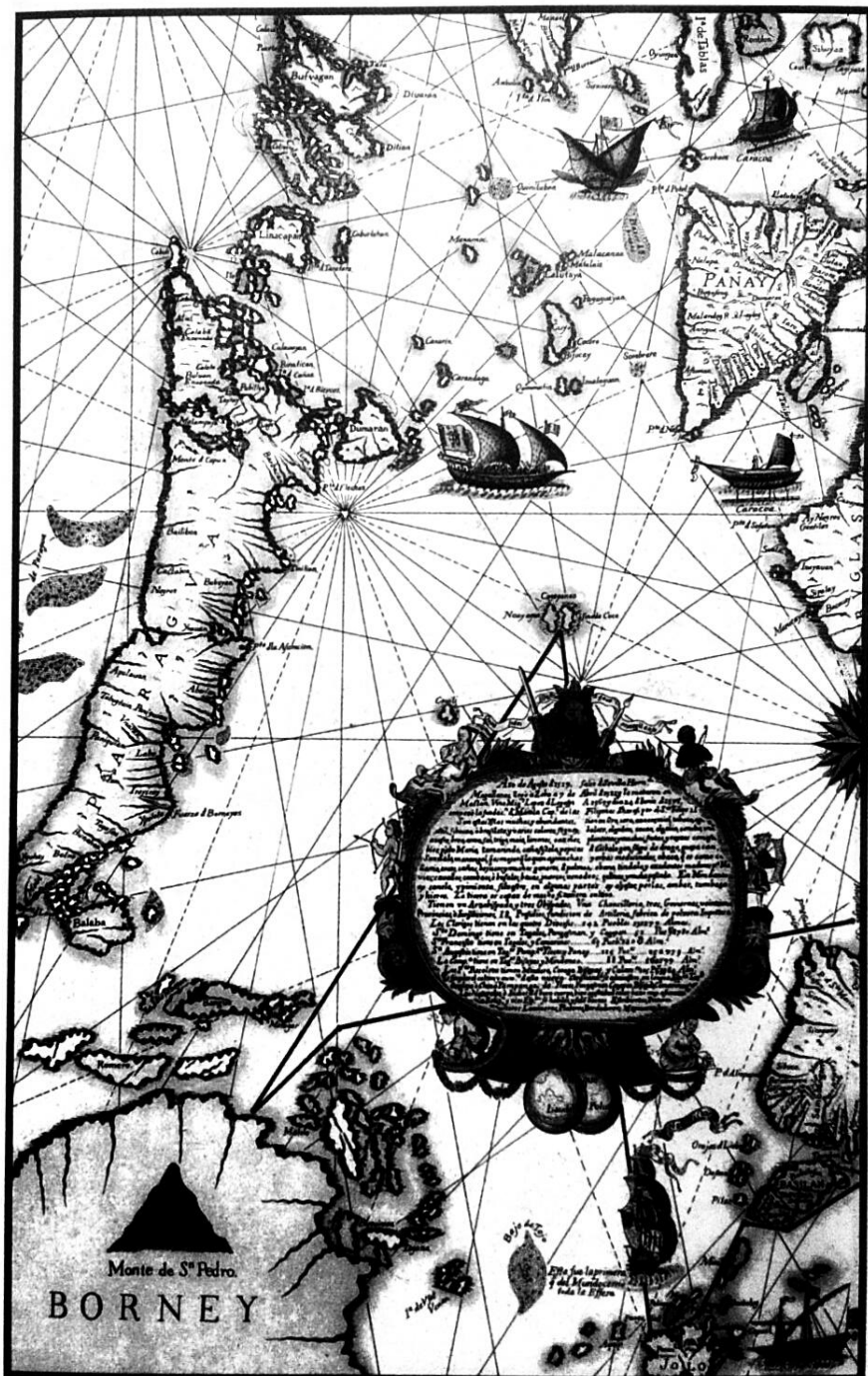
3. Gaspar de San Agustin. He was born in 1650 and died in 1724. As an Augustinian missionary to the Philippines and an avid writer, he is best known for his big book on the Spanish conquests of the islands between 1565 and 1615. This was published in Madrid in 1698.

4. Juan Francisco de San Antonio. He was born in Zaragoza in 1682 and died in Manila in 1744. In 1724, he arrived in Manila as a Franciscan missionary, and did not return to Spain. He was well regarded for his three-volume account of the activities and experiences of the Discalced Franciscans in the Philippines, China, and Japan. The first volume on the Philippines was published in 1738 in Madrid, and the others a few years later.

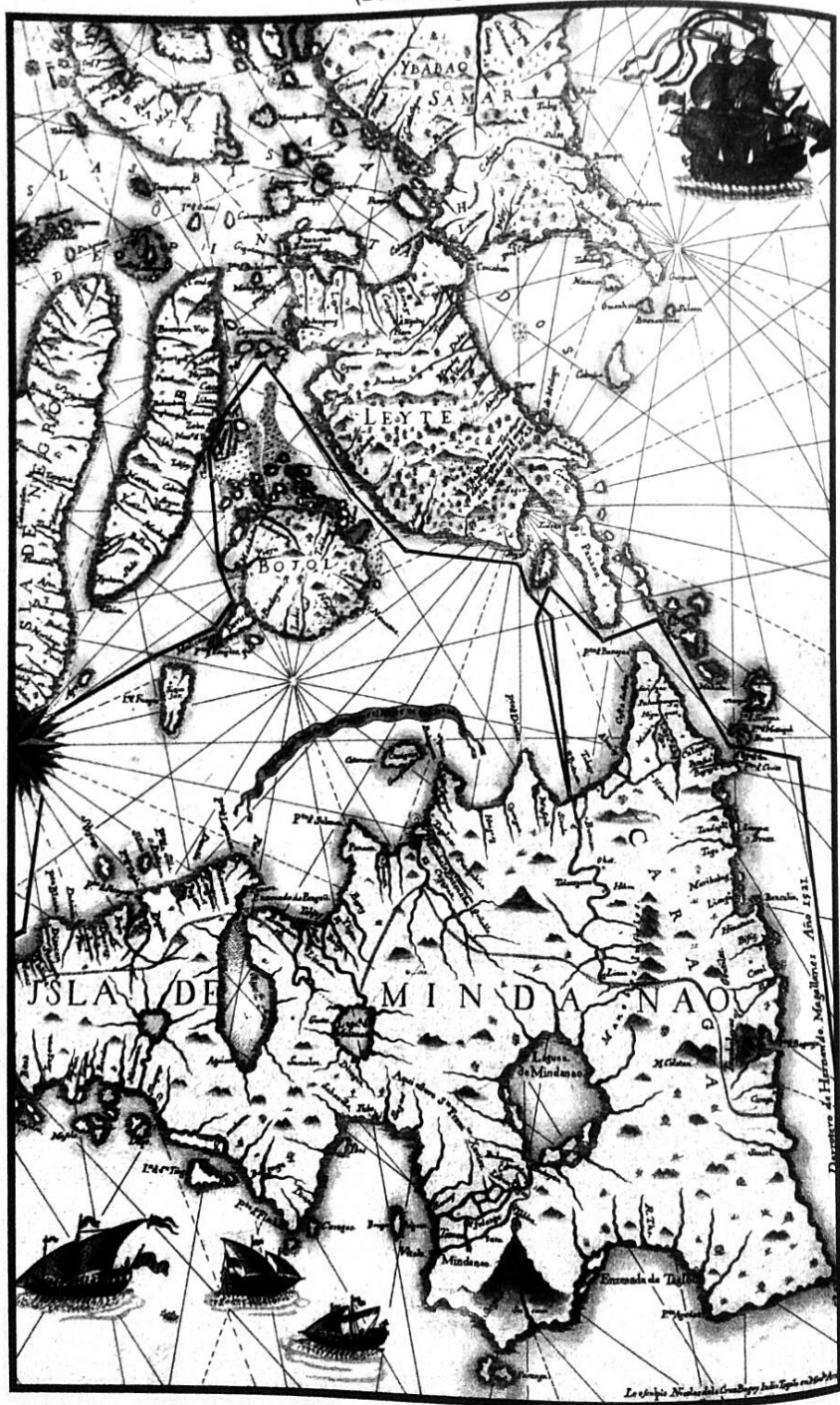
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(Bottom, right)



Isabelo de los Reyes's

Ang Diablo sa Filipinas
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sa Kastila

Nang aco,i, nasa Paombong, ang caibigan cong si Gatmaj-tan; ay inaniyahan aco sa isang bahay na mayroong kata-pusan at pinagkakatiipunan ng mga dalaga.

Pumayag aco sa caniyang aniyaya at naparoon cami, sa isang bahay na may patay palá.... Tunay nga na isang malaquing piguing, na nacacahauig ng mangá pagtotorneo sa Visayas na si-nasabi ni Zaragoza. Sa piling ng nababurool ay nangag tatauanang catacot tacot, at pinagsasalitaan nang pagsinta ang mga bulaque-ña. Ang mga Visaya, tagalog at ilocano ay nagcacaparis cung na-mamatayan na ang canilang mga bahay ay tila sa casalan at biña-gan at inaacala yata nila na ang pagcacamatay ay dapat icatoua,t, ipagcantahan, parís nang ugali ng mangá hebreo at romano, na naniniuala na ang mga namamatay ay lumulualhati. Mabuti nga, na ang paghahanda at ang pagcamatay ay pagparisin nang mga tagalog cung isulat para ng katapúsan.

Ang patay na yao,i, ng nabubuhay pa,i, Directorcillo sa bayan, at di co na sasabihin na siya,i, inaacala ng lahat na marunong at matalinong isip, at ang uica pa,i, may roon dao isang biblioteca na doo,i, may isang libritong mababalaghin na ang tauag ay sa «La

Happening to be in Paombong, Bulacan, my good friend Gatmaitan invited me to go with him to a house where we were bound to encounter *dalagas* [unmarried girls and adult women] and *katapusan*.¹ I accepted the invitation and we were soon at the house of a dead man. In fact, a banquet was going on exactly like the funerary rites in the Visayas as described by Zaragoza.² In the presence of the corpse, the men were laughing with floppy jaws wide open and directing flirty words to the girls and women from Batangas. The Visayans, Tagalogs, and Ilocanos are similar in that their home funerary rites are just like their home weddings and baptisms; doubtless they think that deaths should be celebrated with rejoicing and singing—like the Hebrews and the Romans, who believed in the apotheosis of the dead. Thus is it fitting that the Tagalogs use the same letters for ‘banquet’ and ‘death’?

The dead man had been a *directorcillo*.³ There is no need to say anything more, except that he regarded himself as an erudite and highly talented man, and used to say that he had a library of his own, which included a miraculous little book titled *De la Compañía* [Of The

¹ In the original text, Isabelo explains that *katapusan* has two meanings: a) cheerful banquet b) the end of funerary rites, in the dead person's home.

² Don Miguel Zaragoza is the author of a warm ‘preface’ for *El Diablo*. Ambeth Ocampo tells us that the Don was a well-known painter of genres, and also the founder and editor of *Ilustración Filipino*. In the ‘preface’ he writes that he was thrilled when, in 1885, Isabelo dedicated to him the splendid text on the Visayas (Pintados) titled *Al rededor de un cadaver*, first published in the newspaper titled *Porvenir de Visayas*.

³ During late Spanish colonial rule this was the title of a *gobernadorcillo*'s secretary for administrative matters in any township. In his scathing *Discursos y Artículos Varios* Graciano Lopez Jaena wrote that the *gobernadorcillos* were rich, virtually illiterate, and puppets of the secular Spanish administrators. The *directorcillos* were literate and puppets of the local Catholic priests. Because they handled all documents under priestly monitoring, they were actually more powerful than their titular bosses. See pages 78-96 in the new edition edited by Jaime C. Veyra (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951).

Compañía», ito,i, siyang nagbibigay dunong sa caniya huad cay Salomon.

Bago co pa lamang natatalos na may biblioteca ang namatay, capagcaraca,i, sinabi co cay Gatmaitan na ibig cong maquita, cayâ nga noondi,i, ipinasoc aco sa isang cuartito na nasasarhan dahil sa baca mauala ang nasabing librito.

Nang cami,i, nasa loob na nang cuarto, ang nabalo ay agad isinara sapagcat canģino ma,i, dī niya ipinagcacatualala ang may cababalaghang biblioteca.

Nģuni,t, ang unang hinanap nģ caibigan cong si Gatmaitan ay ang librito, yayamang ang caniyang nais, ay mapasacaniya dī man carampatan, ang librito na anting anting.

Hindī nasumpunģan nģ caibigan co, cayâ aco,i, binilungan.

---Caibigan umalis na tayo rito at baca pa paquita sa atin ang caloloua nģ Directorcillo. Naquita mo na nģa, ang librito,i, naualâ bagama,t, itong cuartito,i, palagui nģ sarado at dī binubucsan cung dī nģayon lamang.

---Ja, ja, ja, naniniuala ca pala sa nangģag sisilabas dao na duende, diablo at iba pa.

---Huang cang magtaua, at ang aquing Lelang ay nagsasabing siya,i nacaquita.

---Ang Lelang naman nģ Nanay ay nagsasabi rin nģ gayon, nģuni,t, ¿sino ba sila? mģa babai lamang na ualang malay cayâ naniniuala sa caululan.

Nang maringģig ito ni Gatmaitan ay di napiguil ang galit at naguica...

---Marami acong masasabi sa iyong mģa bagay tungcol sa calo-

Company], which conferred on him all the wisdom of Solomon.⁴

As soon as I heard of the dead man's library, I let Gatmaitan know my desire to see it, and at the same moment he introduced me to a little room that was still locked to avoid losing the Little Book.

But once we were inside, the widow locked the little room again, saying she did not trust anyone else to enter the mysterious library. But the first thing my friend Gatmaitan hunted for was the Little Book, because the poor fellow, believing in ancient legends, was trying to inherit, illegally, this *anting-anting* (amulet).

Finding nothing, my friend said to me in a low voice: "My dear friend, let's get out of here, it could be that... the ghost of the... *directorcillo* will... appear before us. See how the miraculous Little Book has disappeared even though the little room has never been unlocked until today."

I. "Ha! Ha! Ha! Do you still believe in apparitions, dwarves, demons and sorcerers?"

G. "Don't laugh at me. My grandmother swore that she had seen some of them."

I. "My great-grandmother said the same kind of thing to me. What are your grandmother and my great-grandmother except foolish mothers of humbug?"

On hearing my sarcasm, Gatmaitan got up from his chair, unable to hide his irritation, and replied: "I could mention to you the many cases where the souls of the dead appeared before the living, which I read about

⁴ At first, the editors assumed that this obscure title referred to the Jesuits, self-titled as companions of Jesus Christ. But now we know that in Ilocos Norte the 'little book' was a magic tool of local sprites (*sangcabui*). In his famous *El Folk-lore Filipino* Isabelo wrote that "it can take them in no time, wherever they want to go, no matter how far. All they have to do is indicate the place." The name given to the 'little book' showed the reputation of Spanish Jesuits for owning miraculous books. See the English translation by Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora P. Imson (Manila, University of the Philippines, 1994), page 39.

loua ng mğa namatay na napaquita sa madlâ, na aquing nabasa sa mğa librong banal, datapua yayamang dito sa biblioteca ay ualang naquiquita cung di ang crónica ng mğa nangyari dito sa Filipinas, ay babasahin co sa iyo ang isang na nangyari ng taong 1690, na doon maquiquita sa talatang 342 ng icaluang parte nang crónica ng mğa Paring franciscano, at natataning naman sa ibinigay na informe ni Fr. Jose de la Virgen ayon sa cautusan ng Ministro Provincial nila.

Ang nangyari ay ang Franciscanong si Fr. Mateo de S. José ministro sa bayan ng Buhi (Camarines) at isang sacristan ang tinauagan isang hating gabi na tinugtug ang campanilla sa pinto, upang maquita nila, i, hinahanap sila ng daluang negrong naca nacapangngilabot taglay ay isang tagalog na principal doon (isang Capitang pasado na mayaman sa bayang yaon, na ang acala, i, na sa langit dahilan sa totoong malimusin) natatanilicaan sa liig, tanda na siya, i, na pacasamâ sa Infierno.

Ipinagtatanong ng Pari, lalo na sa caniyang cahambal hambal na nasapit na di man acalaing siya, i, sumagot na nagdídighay ng apoy at nanangis na nagnngangalit, at sinabi, na sa madla niyang asalana, i, ang lalong nacapagbigay galit sa P. Dios, ay hindi la-

in religious books. But it is only in this library that one encounters the Philippine Chronicles. Let me read aloud to you a case that occurred in 1690, which can be found on page 342 of the second part of the *Chronicles of the Franciscans*.⁵ It consists of information provided by Friar José de la Virgen, following orders given by the Ministro Provincial [highest-ranking priest in that area]. What happened was that the Franciscan Friar Mateo de San José—priest in the township of Buhi in the Camarines—and his acolyte were summoned in the middle of the night by little bells ringing at the porter-gate. There they encountered two ferocious black demons,⁶ who were dragging along an Indio [native] *principal* [local 'big man']. (He was very wealthy and had earlier been a *gobernadorcillo* in Buhi, which led him to believe that his glory came from his grandiose way of life and his almsgiving.) Now he was tied up with a thick chain around his throat, a sure indication of his eternal damnation. The Father asked him various questions, especially about the

⁵ The full original name of the book was *Cronicas de la Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio [Magno], de Religiosos descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco en las Islas Philipinas, China, Japon, etc.*. The author, Friar Juan Francisco de San Antonio, was born in 1682 in Ripoll, near the eastern Pyrenees (amazingly, our comrade Carlos Sardiña was raised in this little township). As a youngster he witnessed the extinction of the Habsburg dynasty and its replacement by the French Bourbons. In Western Europe the secular Enlightenment was starting to ride high. It is therefore interesting that in his work he often referred to the important chroniclers of the Habsburgian 17th century—whom the reader will soon meet. He became a Franciscan missionary and arrived in Manila in 1724. He started his Three Part Chronicles quite soon, and the first volume, mainly about the Philippines, was printed in Madrid in 1738, and the others soon followed. He died, in Manila, in 1744. It is good that a clear English translation of Part One came out in 1977 in Manila, published by Casalinda and the Historical Preservation Society.

⁶ In English, this word is not common, and has no specific religious attachment. The normal translation would be 'devil,' and in the case of a naughty child 'little devil.' In Catholic Spain, however, the standard would be *demonio* (an early borrowing from pre-Christian Greek) and these days for a naughty child, *demonito*. To keep the spirit of Catholic thinking, we have decided to keep 'demon.' The reader should recognize that lower-case 'demon' is always a local evil spirit, and thus easily pluralized, while the upper-case Devil (Diablo) is always singular, in other words Satan.

mang yaong pagsingil niya sa mġa tagalog nġ siya,i, capitan na sa pinagcacaquitaan nitong sila na Algalia bumabanas para sa caniya, sapagca,t, sa bayang yaon ito lamang ang caraniuang pinagcacaquitaan. At saca ibinigay ang habitong isinuot nġ siya,i, mamatay (habito ni S. Francisco) na nanġusap. «Abutin niġo, Among, itong h bito na nacacapiguil masoc aco sa infierno. Saca pinagsungabanan siya niyaong mġa negro,t, dinala na.»  lbig niġo naman maquita ang sinasalit  na mġa mangcuculam?

---Oo.

---Di niġo maquiquilala yaong Cronistang Dominico na si Fr. Diego de Aduarte?

---Naquiquilala co, at naging Obispo sa Nueva Segovia.

---Cung gayon, ang Paring ito sa caniyang guinauang Historia pagina 69, sinasalit  na ang mġa mangcuculam sa Bataan, ay nagpapacunnuari na matatacutin at madalang nin, at sumapit, (ito ang isinulat nġ nasabing cronista) ang canilang calapastanġanan, na isa sa canila,i, nagutos na paquita ang demonio sa isang principal sa bayan, pinarisan siya sa pang nġusap na diniring g nitong principal nġuni,t, di siya naquiquita. Sa catapusa,i, inibig ng Dios na matalastas ang caniyang pagdaraya, dahilan sa isang babaing tagalog na may saquit dinala sa Hospital, na nagsabing isa sa mġa mangcuculam na yaon ay siyang sanh  nġ pagcacasaquit niya na siya,i, quinulam dahilan sa d  niya pagcacaloob nġ isang cacaning bung ng cahoy na hinihingi sa caniya. Ang Paring Vicario ay sinimulan ang paguusisa nitong bagay sa mġa hinguil sa caniya at mġa iba pang bagay na caniyang na pagusisa, naquita na toto-

cause of his unimaginable perdition. The man replied, amidst splutters of fire and furious lamentation, that not the least of his sins, which had irritated Divine Providence in the time of his captaincy, was imposing on the Indios a tax on civet [animal perfume], a product most favored by the local traders. Lifting one hand, he turned over his shroud (the kind used by St. Francis) and said: Father, take this shroud which has served me as a defence against entering Hell. Then the two Blacks seized him violently, and they all disappeared through the gate.

G. "Now do you want to see some authorized records on the subject of *mangcuculam* [sorcerers and/or sorceresses]?"

I. "Yes!"

G. "Don't you know about Friar Diego de Aduarte, the Dominican chronicler?"

I. "I know about him. He was the bishop of Nueva Segovia [in Cagayan] in 1635."

G. "Well, this gentleman recounted in his *Historia*, page 69, that in Bataan a variety of witches pretended to be meek and pious.⁷ Wrote the chronicler, 'they became so impudent that on the orders of one of them, the local demon went to a *principal* of the town, mimicking her talk, so the man heard 'her' but did not see him.... But in the end the gentleman was helped in unmasking the deceit when an *India* [native woman] was taken to the Hospital and said that one of the initiated witches was the cause of her illness, using spells, and taking revenge for

⁷ The full title cited here is *Tomo Primero de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario, Iapon, y China, de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores* (Dominicans). It was first published in 1640 in Manila. See the Map of the Chroniclers for biographic details about Aduarte. From here on readers should be aware that when Isabelo de los Reyes quoted ancient chronicles he often turned 17th century Spanish orthography into that of the late 19th. He also regularly used scissors to shorten sentences that he did not think important.

ong mġa matalinong mangcuculam, cayâ maraming masasamang bagay ang mġa guinaua, at natalos pa niya na mayroong ibang casamahan, at idinagdag pang sabi nġ Cronista na sa tulong nġ demonio ay nacacamcam nila ang mġa Hacienda, pagcain at pati nġ mġa catauan nġ tagalog.

¿At itong masasamang babaing ito,i, dġ бага yaon ding mġa mangcuculam na sinasabi nġ matatanda, na nacagaganti sila cangġino mang ibig.?

Nang maquita ni Gatmaitan ang pagcamangha cong daquila ay nagsabi: ---Oo caibigan có, maniuà ca po sa diablo, marami ang Santo at patġ sa ating P. Jesucristo ay napaquita siya. At yaya-mang lubos ang pagbibigay mong pitagan sa cagalangalang na cay señor Aduarte, at sa bibliotecang ito,i, naquiquita ang caniyang mġa librong guinauà, magabala tayong basahin ang tanang isinulat niya tungcol sa mġa cabulaanan nġ demonio dito sa Filipinas.

Catuatuâ ang naquiquita co sa pagina 70 na nagsasaysay na nasapaglalacad nġ isang pulutong na mġa taga Pangasinan bago nacasapit ang mġa Dominico sa provinciāng yaon, sa macatuid bago dumating ang taong 1587 ay nacarinġig nġ isang voces na matunog at nacapaninindig nang balahibo. Ang voces na ito ay cay Apolaki, Dios sa pagbabaca, na sinabi sa canila «Umiiyac aco sa pagca,t, naquita cong matutupad na ang malaong cong pinanġingġilagan, na tatangap cayo nġ mġa tauong taga ibang lupa, maputi ang ngipin, mahahabang barong tila may alampay, lalaguan nila ang inyong mġa bahay nġ dalauang tulos na nagcacasalisi (ito ang Cruz) at nang aco,i, lalong mahirapan, aco nġa,i, papanao na,t, iiuan cayo, at, hahanap aco nġ ibig sumama sa aquin sapagca,t, dahilan sa taga ibang lupa aco,i, inyong iiuan, bagama,t, aco ang dati ninyong Panginoon.»

---Ah! Naalaala co naman caibigan co, ---sagot co cay Gatmaitan --- na aquing nabasa sa «Conquistas» nġ cronistang Agustino si Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, itong sumusunod. Bago naparito si Hernando de Magallanes, ay nabalitaan na nġ mġa Visaya sa mġa saysay nġ canilang sinasamba at may tatlong taon bago dumating si D. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, ay pinagsabihan sila nġ demonio

not getting a strawberry that she had asked for...Father Vicario began to look for proof in this case. Thanks to the clues he had already found, and many other things that he rediscovered, it was plain that there were skilled witches around, who caused many bad things to happen. Furthermore he found out that two other witches were complicit in the above-mentioned deceit. The chronicler added that in this manner the witches, with the help of the Devil [*el Diablo*], made themselves owners 'of the haciendas, food and personages among all the Indios.' It looks like these wicked women are quite unlike the *mangcuculam* [sorcerers], and these old ladies say that they know how to get revenge in any way they wish.'

Seeing that I looked at him with great admiration, Gatmaitan added: "Yes, that's right. You should believe in the Devil [*Diablo*]. After all, he presented himself to many of the Saints and even Jesus Christ. And since you have done justice to the reputation of Señor Aduarte, and since we have encountered his ghost in this library, let us amuse ourselves by reading what he had to say about the craziness of demons in the Philippines. What we find on page 70 is curious. There Aduarte notes that a group of Pangasinenses, wandering about in their homeland—before the arrival of the Dominicans, i.e. before 1587—heard a powerful and frightening voice. It was the voice of Apolaqui, their God of War, who said to them: I weep to see the completion of what I expected for many years, namely that you would welcome some foreigners with white teeth and hooded heads, who would implant amidst your houses crossed poles (crosses) to torment me all the more. I am leaving you to seek people who will follow me, for you have abandoned me, your ancient lord, for foreigners.

I. "Ah! I also remember, my friend," so I said to Gatmaitan, reading the following passage in the *Conquistas*, written by the Augustinian chronicler Friar Gaspar de San Agustin.⁸ 'Even before Hernando de

⁸ The original title was *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas*, and published in Madrid close to the time when Aduarte's *Historia* came out. See the Map of the Chroniclers for geographic and other data.

nang sila,i, naganito nã ganito.--- Ang ating unang pagcacaibigan ay tapus na, sapagca,t, darating dito ang ilang lalaquing mapuputi at mapupulang buhoc malalacas at matatapang na may mĩa casa-mang higit pa sa tauo, tila may mĩa sayang maluag at maitim, ualang mĩa balbas at ang mĩa ulo,i, ahit na ito,i, mĩa ministros niyang daquilang Dios na tumatahan sa lalong mataas na alapaap. At sa ganito,i, madla pa ang mĩa binulaan sa canila.

---Tungcol sa mĩa hulang nagsasaysay nã pagdating dito nã mĩa castila --- ang sagot nã caibigan co--- si P. Aduarte ay nagtalata sa pagina 142 nitong---susunod: --- Ang demonioi, naghihinanaquit sa caniyang mga taga Cagayan at nagsabi na siya,i, papanao na at di na siya maquiquita, sa pagca,t, mula noo,i, iba na ang maquiquialam sa canila, nãuni,t, di sinasaysay cung sino; ang sinabi lamang sa canila --- masdan niño,i, hindi dapat paniualaan, ang baua,t, sabihin ng mĩa tauong iyang ngayo,i, nagsidating na may mangã mahabang suot, natatalosan cong tunay silang macabubuhay nã patay, at ito,i, sinasasabi tungcol sa magugulang nilang namatay na tila бага ibig ipalagay na yaong sila,i, maghihinanaquit cung mabuhay uli at mamasdan silang iba na ang sinusunod at hindi ang nã nabubuhay pa sila. At sa pagina 147 ay isinulat nã nasabing Prelado «Nã ang mĩa Paring Dominico ay nasoc sa bayan ng Pata, ang demonio,i, napaquita sa isang babaing daquilang magcuculam na naninirahan sa bayang Pata (Cagayan) na nãala,i si Fulanãan at ... nag uica na nagpapaalam na sa caniya, di na siya cacausapin, at di naman paquiquita sa canila paris nang sa malaquing cahihiyan: alinsunod sa pagtanggap nila sa canilang lupa doon sa mĩa nacaririmarin na may talucbong sa ulo (mga dominico)» ---- Datapoua, sapagcat may panahon pa ay di dapat tayong mag palacuat lacuat at ating matalicdan ang mĩa balitang nacaliligaya rin naman caya carampatang pag balican natin ang mĩa paginang natalicdan, at bayaan na muna ang cronica ni Fr. Gaspar saca na pag usisain.

--- Umaayon aco.

Magallanes [Magellan] arrived, [the Visayans] were warned by their oracles of his future appearance. Three years before the arrival of Miguel López de Legazpi, the demon spoke about this during a sacrifice (*maganito*) as follows: Our ancient friendship has come to an end because of the arrival of fair-headed men with white skins, with great force and valour, and accompanied by others who are more than men, who wear big black robes, shave their heads and their beards, and are the Ministros of the Great God, who sits on the highest of clouds... In this manner, many other oracles appeared.'

G. "About the prophecies foretelling the coming of the Spaniards," said my friend, interrupting me, "Father Aduarte also writes on page 142 as follows: 'The [local] demon complained to his native pagans [*naturales*] that he would soon be gone and would not return, because from now on an Other will have to be responsible for them—without announcing who this Other would be. He just said to them: Be careful not to believe the words of these men who have now arrived dressed in long robes. I know for certain that they are going to resurrect the dead. Referring to their ancestors, he hinted that they will suffer greatly once back to life, since they will be isolated, seeing that their living descendants will have abandoned what they always believed.' On page 147, the same friar writes: 'When the Dominicans entered the township of Pata, the demon appeared before a powerful witch called Fulangan, living in Pata (Cagayan), ...and he told her he was saying good-bye and would not speak to her again. Out of shame he also could not make his usual appearance among the townsfolk, for they had welcomed into their land those ragged, hooded men (Dominicans).'"

G. "But since we have plenty of time, we shouldn't jump from one page to another, ignoring information no less curious. So let's agree to turn back to earlier pages, while for the time being you should stop discussing the Chronicle of Friar Gaspar, without prejudicing a further examination later on."

I. "I agree."



"The (local) demon complained to his native pagans (naturales), that he would soon be gone and would not return, because from now on an Other will have to be responsible for them..."



--- Sa pagina 82 sinasalita ni P. Aduarte na may isang tagalog di binagang ibig magpabinag ay nag saysay --- na limang demonio ang pumipiguil sa caniya isa,i, hauac ang dila niya at ulo, dalaua,i, ang dalaua niyang camay at dalaua sa caniyang mga paa na ayao siang paquilusin ni macapagseñas, bagama,t, binayaan na siya ng binibinagan. Ito,i, dapat nang matalos yayamang ang mga demonio,i, caauay nang ating caloloua, nguni,t, ang di co mapag-abot isip ay ang sinasabi sa pagina 84 tungcol sa isang inchic na may saquit sa lumang Hospital ng S. Gabriel, na sa caniya,i, maraming demonio ang napaquita, at pinagbalaan siya,i, dadalhin sa pagcat ayao mag binag.

--- Huag nating paquialaman iyang malalalim na salita ticlopin muna iyan, at tayo,i, humanap naman nang iba.

--- Sa pagina 141 ay nabasa ito --- Isang babaing magaanito, na sa catapusa,i, naguing mabuting cristiana, ay nag sasalita na ang demonio,i, lagui na siyang binibirô: isang arao ay humiling siyang sapilitan na siya,i, biguian ng guintong salapi (na ito,i, touina,i, hinihiling niya) nangacong siya,i, bibiguian, at ng maguising siya ng gabi ay ang caniyang galangalangan na mga camay ay punong puno nang guinto, at maraming natutuhog na batong malalaquing halaga sa mga tagalog, ng matulog siya uli, pagcaguising ay uala na siyang naquita.

--- Iya,i, panaguinip lamang na ualang sala, na cacaparis ng mga tapayang guinto na sinasabi nang mga ilocanong di omano,i, ibinigay sa caniyang mga caibigan nang mga kaibaan.

G. "On page 82, Father Aduarte refers to the case of a pagan native who tried to get himself baptized. 'He confessed that he was immobilized by five demons: one seized his head and tongue, two others did the same for his hands, and another two for his legs, without letting him move or make any further signs apart from those he had already given—even though the demons talked to him while he was being baptized. But these demons left after his baptism.' All of this is quite intelligible, because demons are the enemies of our souls. But I can't explain another report, which you can find on page 98, which relates that a sick Chinese man, being treated at the old Hospital of Saint Gabriel, saw many demons, who threatened to carry him off because he refused to be baptized."

I. "Let's not dig deeper into this matter. Just turn over the page to see if we will encounter other cases of this type."

G. "On page 141 we find: 'An *anitera* (Philippine version of the Delphic oracle), who later became a very good Christian, described how the demon assaulted her with a thousand taunts and mockeries. At one time she importunately demanded that he give her gold (previously she had often made the same request). The demon promised to do so. Waking up one night she found her wrists covered with gold and strings of stones highly regarded by the Indios. Then she went back to sleep, and when she woke again, there was nothing to be seen....'"

I. "I'm sure it must have been just a dream, like the jars of gold which the *caibaan* gives to his friends, according to the Ilocanos."¹⁰

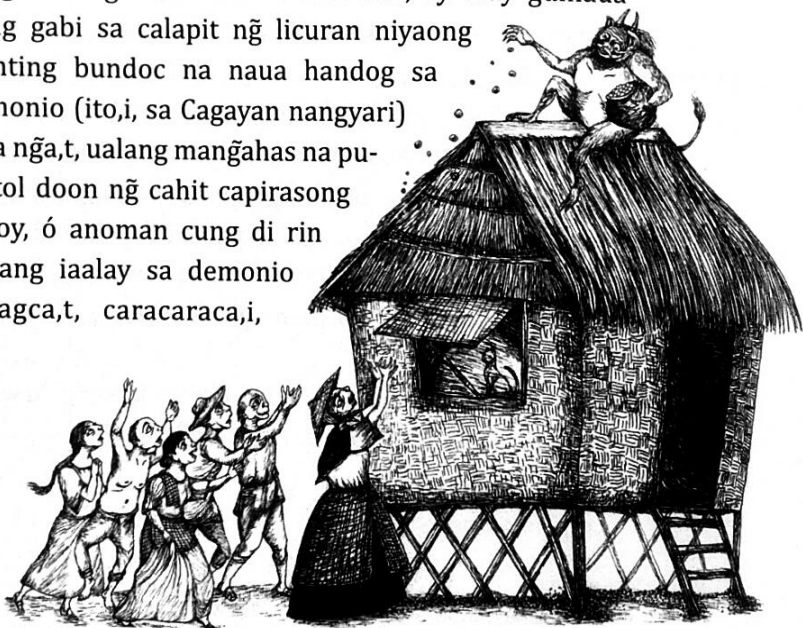
⁹ The only way to make sense of this is to assume that the characters believe that demons have already quietly penetrated Catholic ceremonies and beliefs.

¹⁰ In his original *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, Isabelo wrote a great description of the *caibaan*. In the English translation of 2004, pp. 41-2, we can enjoy the portrait as follows: "The *caibaan* is a creature about one year old, who walks automatically with inverted feet. He has long hair, is invisible, and lives in the thickets. He appears only to his friends or loved ones. There are male and female *caibaan*. They procreate among themselves or with human beings. When the male *caibaan* falls in love with a woman,

--- Sa pagina 142 --- Hiniling sa demonio n̄g man̄ga tagalog na cagayan na saca siya,i, paquita, ang isinasagot ay di sila macatitingin sa caniang catauan, sapagca,t, totoong mariquit: minsan nama,i, pinamanhican n̄g ilang tagalog na nag papacababa, mangyaring manaog siya sa taluctoc n̄g bahay na pinangagalingan n̄g pagsasalita niya n̄g uicang cagayan; at siya,i naquiquipanayam sa canila, mayamaya,i nahulog sa calaguitnaan nila ang isang batong mabilog na sa canila,i, totoong mahal at pinamamagatan na maxin, ang batong ito,i, gagalao-galao at nangungusap, maliit ang voces, saca naualang bigla ang bato sampu n̄g demonio.

--- Ja, ja, ja, ¿Capara iyan n̄g voces niyang man̄ga Sangkabagui?

--- Maghintay ca muna, at sa nasabing pagina ay nababasa itong iba: N̄g si D. Luis Dasmariñas, ay may guinaua isang gabi sa calapit n̄g licuran niyaong munting bundoc na naua handog sa Demonio (ito,i, sa Cagayan nangyari) caya n̄ga,t, ualang mangahas na putol doon n̄g cahit capirasong cahoy, ó anoman cung di rin lamang iaalay sa demonio sapagca,t, caracaraca,i,



"Often (the indigenous Cagayans) would ask the local demon to make himself visible. He would reply that his body was so beautiful that he couldn't permit them to see it. On another occasion, some of the Indios begged him to get down from the rooftop where he talked to them in the Cagayan dialect. As the conversation continued, a highly valued stone (locally called *maxin*), dropped down into the midst of the crowd below..."

G. "On page 142, Aduarte says that often the indigenous Cagayans would ask the local demon to make himself visible. He would reply that his body was so beautiful that he couldn't permit them to see it. On another occasion, some of the Indios begged him to get down from the rooftop where he talked to them in the Cagayan dialect. As the conversation continued, a highly valued stone (locally called *maxin*), dropped down into the midst of the crowd below. For a few good minutes the stone moved about on the ground, from where it spoke with a tiny, thin voice. Finally both the stone and the demon disappeared."

I. "Yeah, yeah! How about the supposed voice of the *sangcabuñ*?"¹¹

G. "Just wait, hombre! On the same page you will find something else. Don Luys Pérez Dasmariñas.... spent a night on the slope of a small hill dedicated to the demon (in Cagayan). ... No native would dare to cut down trees to make poles or anything else, except in service to this demon. If these rules are violated, then the ocean will get very rough,

he appears to her in the form of a man with an open mouth, showing teeth that emit a strong light dazzling the woman he courts. He serenades his loved one with his guitar. If the girl accepts his love, the *caibañ* gives her a raincoat that makes her invisible when she goes with him. She begins to share his power and she does not lack food because, by being invisible, she can steal it from others. When the *caibañ* dies, his human widow goes to the mortuary bringing in a big cup full of salt, which is a sign of mourning. The sorrow of the widow is usually alleviated by the surviving *caibañes* and relatives of the deceased. They give her all the property that the deceased had left....When the *caibañ* wishes to win the friendship of a man, he serenades him invisibly. Once he wins his friendship, he gives the man a big jar of gold and silver, a marvelous magic cup, and his magic raincoat. In spite of being rich, the *caibañ* likes to steal. He threatens his obstinate human male friends and throws at them a type of powder that can produce an incurable skin disease. The Ilocanos are afraid of the *caibañes*...since the skin disease is always attributed to them..."

¹¹ In *El Folk-Lore Filipino* (English translation, pp. 36-42) Isabelo warns his readers that people in Ilocos Norte use words that are not known in Ilocos Sur, and vice versa. Thus the *sangcabaguí* of the Northerners has the same meaning of the Southerners' *catatao-an*. "The *sangcabaguí* appear in the middle of the night, passing through the windows and through holes. They wake up their victims with hardly audible words, and make them ride a barangay or airship, like that of the *catatao-an*, flying in space at one o'clock in the morning and going round the world in half an hour....The *sangcabaguí* inflict evil on those who scorn and reject them.

ang dagat ay lumalaqui at umaalon n̄g catacot-tacot, at ang han̄gi,i; lumalacas na iguiniguiba ang m̄ga bahaybahay; noon ding gabing yaon humihip ang caquilaquilabot na han̄gin, na liniugal ang dagat hangang sa tabi at umabot sa canilang quinalalagacan, yamang tila alam nila itong mangyayari, at napilitan ang m̄ga sundalo, at ang nasabing D. Luis na umilag sa capahamacan, naualan sila n̄g maraming bagay, sampu n̄g mang̃a pinutol nilang cauayan at m̄ga san̄ga n̄g cahoy.

--- ¿Umalis ang capagcaracana,i, masipag na Gobernador general sa Filipinas, sa catacutan niya dahilan sa nan̄galipol sa caniya? ;Ito,i, di mapaniualaan!... ¿At uala naman cayong nalaman tungcol sa nangyari, n̄g pataing ualang aua ang caniyang cahabaghabag na ama?

--- Uala; liban lamang sa tanda n̄g pagpatay sa caniya, na ang nangyari ay nabiac ang pader sa itaas n̄g ulong quinahulugan n̄g caniyang retrato (at na sa portería n̄g Convento n̄g m̄ga Paring Agustino) noong ding arao at horas na siya,i, mamatay may sugat sa ulo, bagama,t, sa Maynila,i, di pa natatalastasang itong nangyari.

---¿Di ba niño nababasa ang isinulat ni Morga at ng Paring S. Agustin tungcol sa isang sundalong dinala n̄g diablo sa Mejico? Ang huling gumaua ay isinulat sa pagina 465 sa caniyang libro na tinatauang Conquistas itong sumunod:

«Dapat ngang icamangha, na cung ano,t, noong ding arao na patay si Gomez Perez (Dasmariñas) ay natatalastas na sa Mejico ito sa cagayanan ni Satanas na sa caniya,i, namaguitan yaong ilang

and the winds leap high, destroying houses... That very night the most violent of wind-storms blew high and stirred the ocean to surge over the shoreline and reach as far inland as the military billets, usually thought to be very safe under dangerous conditions. The storm obliged the soldiers and even Don Luys to flee, the latter losing a lot of his assets because he had cut down so much on 'his' hill (branches and sugar cane)."

I. "Wow! The man who was the acting Governor-General of the Philippines caused so much destruction just because he panicked! It is hard to believe... And don't you know anything about what happened when treacherous people assassinated his unfortunate father?"

G. "Nothing except the sign of his assassination, which consisted of a crack through the wall and on to the head of the victim's portrait, which was in the porter's lodge of the monastery of the Augustinian Fathers. That same day and hour he died from wounds to his head. In Manila no one yet knew about this tragedy."¹²

I. "Haven't you read what Morga and Father San Agustin wrote about the soldier who was diabolically transported to Mexico? The latter wrote thus about the event on page 465 of his *Conquistas*. It is worthwhile to ponder that on the same day when the tragedy of Gómez Pérez (Dasmariñas) occurred it was discovered that thanks to the skill of Satan [Satanás] some women, inclined to have the same capacities,

They are dragged to the floor when asleep and taken to other places. Their livers are snatched and the space is filled with grass to make them sick. The *sangcabagui* have very sharp eyes and they can read the thoughts of men through their faces. At other times they make termites or weevils to destroy clothes, rice, corn, and other plants of people who have offended them. On the other hand, as we have seen in footnote 4, they give those whom they like a book called *libro de la compañía*, and this book can take them in no time wherever they want to go, no matter how far. All they have to do is to indicate the place..... The *sangcabagui*, like the *mangcuculam*, live invisibly in some trees."

¹² In his famous *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* Antonio de Morga, who between 1595 to 1603, served as Lieutenant Governor-General and later head of the colony's Supreme Court, calmly described the killing of Luys Pérez Dasmariñas's father more or less as follows. Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, fifth Governor-General of the Philippines, arrived in Manila in 1590 along with his adult son Luys. He was

babaing lugmoc: na sa m̃ga asal na ito, at inilipat agad sa Mejico yaong isang sundalong nagtatayo ñg haligui isang gabi sa bantayan ñg muralla sa Maynila, at nagauang ualang malay ang sundalo sa quinaumagaha,i, nag lilibot na may armas sa plaza ñg Mejico at ang lahat ay tinatanong niya ang pangalan ñg baua,t, maquita. Datapua ang Santo oficio ñg Inquisicion sa Ciudad na yaon, ay pinabalic siya rito sa Maynila, na naquilala nang caramihan na siyang nagsasalita nitong nangyari.»

transported a soldier to the Plaza de Mexico. He had been on night-watch duty in a sentry-box by the Walled City of Manila, and was executed without the man even feeling it. By the next morning, he was found walking about the Plaza de Mexico with all his arms, asking the names of everyone who passed through the Wall. But the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico ordered the soldier to be returned to the Islands, where he was known by many people who could certify truthfully about what had happened in Manila.¹³

popular with the inhabitants of Manila because he built fortifications to protect the city from possible invasions by Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese fleets. But from the start his ambition was to conquer the Spice Islands (Moluccas), and above all the Sultan of Ternate who was allied with the Portuguese. In 1593 he built an expensive armada of 200 vessels of various kinds. Almost all the oarsmen were slaves and captives. (Gómez had recently massacred 1,700 Zambales, and sent another 800 to be chained oarsmen for the armada.) But he made the mistake of manning his flagship with wage-earning Chinese, who were not chained and were even allowed to keep their everyday weapons. Since the Moluccas were hundreds of miles due south of Mindanao, the armada was to foregather in the Visayas. Gómez went last, sailing from Cavite on October 1593 in the flagship laden with the cash needed to sustain the armada and its personnel, as well as a few lightly armed escort vessels. Near the tip of Batangas's Sulphur Point, the head-winds were so violent that the Governor-General decided to anchor near the shore till the storm was over. Deep in the night, when all Spaniards were asleep, the Chinese killed them all, except those who swam ashore, and a Franciscan and Gómez's secretary who slept quietly in a room the Chinese forgot. The Governor-General poked his head out of his room to see what was going on, and a waiting Chinese split his head with his dagger. The Chinese set sail for southeast China as soon as the wind slowed down. Passing Ilocos, they traded the friar and the secretary for badly needed drinking water. Unluckily, they landed in today's South Vietnam. The local rulers seized the loot and the looters fled wherever they could. See pages 73-75 in the excellent annotated English translation by J.S. Cummins, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1971.

¹³ Unable to access page 465 of the original chronicle, Comrade Bomen alerted us to an important new bilingual translation of *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 1585-1615* by Luis Antonio Mañeru, published in 1998 by the San Agustin Museum in Manila. Instead of a murky page 465, we found an excellent British translation and a modernized Spanish orthography that deals with this bizarre story on pages 1,000-1. Isabelo was quite wrong in claiming that realist Morga told the same tale in his *Sucesos*.

--- Iyan ang totoong caquilaquilabot, at namaguitan ang tribu-
nal ng Santo oficio na niyao,i, quinamanghaan dahilan sa cahigpi-
tan niya tungcol sa mğa gaua nang demonio.

--- Cung ating usisain muli si P. Aduarte, mababasa natin sa
pagina 143 itong susunod. «Sinasalita rin naman ang mğa mabibi-
gat na pagbibiro ng demonio, sapagca,t, nangyayari cung minsan,
cung may nag iisang tauo sa cabuquiran may lumalapit sa caniya
na tila na malilit na babai, dinadaya siya sa mğa pananalita o sa-
pilitan, o dadalhin caya sa calaguitnaan at doo,i, lalaruin siya na
itinatalang parang sipa, at saca siya pababayaang nanghihimatay.

---Ang mğa babaing munting sinasabi mo ay ualang
pinagibahan sa mğa Caibaan ng mğa Ilocano, na sinasalita nila na
sa mğa Caibaanes (lalaquin mumunti hindi paquita cung minsan)
ay may babait lalaqui rin naman, at ang mğa lalaquing ito,i, ibig
magsipag-asaua sa mğa tagalog, alinsunod sa sabi.

--- ¿At ano pa ang uica?

--- Sinasalita ni Sr. Aduarte na isinasaguni sa demonio cung
ano ang nangyari sa mğa nalubog sa dagat, ay dinayâ silang sina-
got na di omano,i, napadpad sa isang lupang mayaman at masa-
gana na pinanganganganlang Méjico. Sinalita rin naman nitong croni-
sta na ang demonio,i, pinaparisan ang mangğa pag samba natin
at nag uutos na gumamit nang tila cuintas, tubig na bendita, at
dahilan sa caniya,i, ipinag daranğal ang canilang pinacapasco. Sa
pagina 145 ay nababasa «Ang mğa bantay o centinelang castilâ na
sa mğa gabing yaon mulà (ng agosto hangang, setiembre ng taong
1595) na sila,i na guguardia at lumilibot sa Ciudad (ng N. Sego-
via, ngayo,i, Lac-loc) nacaquita sila ng isang asong sadiang laqui
na nagpapaliguid liguid doon sa simbahan at bahay; at sa pagca,t
uala roon (at uala nğa) na gayong aso, sa bahay ng mğa castila,
(lalo na sa mğa bahay tagalog) ni cailan pama,i, hindi nacaquita
ng gayon; ualâ ng ang sala,t, di sucat magalangang cung sino yaon.

--- Dahil dito sa aso, na alaala co ang aqing naringig na sabi

I. "What's most amazing is that the Tribunal of the Inquisition, famous for its rigour in cases of witchcraft, should have interfered only in this [strange] way."

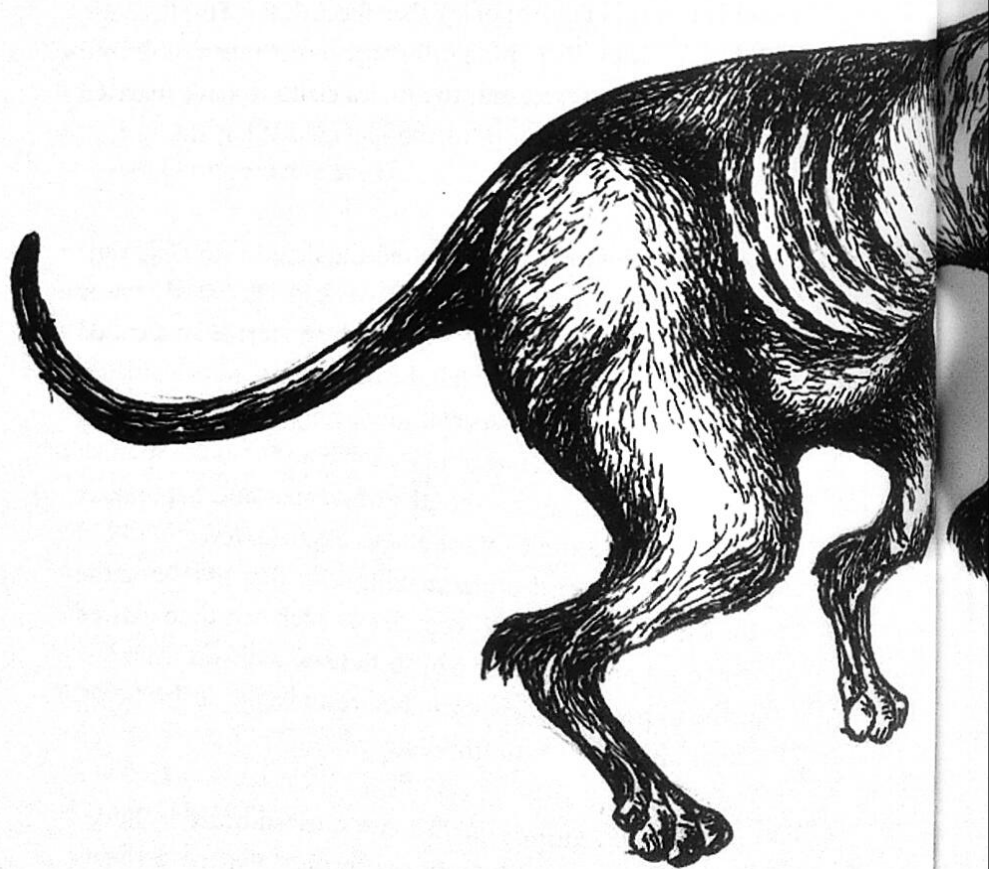
G. "Let's turn back to Father Aduarte and read what he wrote on page 143. 'They also recount the painful pranks practiced by the demon. It sometimes happened that when a solitary man was in the forest, the evil spirit would bring him a number of beings resembling girls. Then, either by deceitful words or force, the man would be put in the midst of some thick shrubs, where the girls would toss him into the air as if they were playing with a pelota ball. Finally, they would leave the man there half dead....'"

I. "These girls are neither more nor less than the *caibaan* of the Ilocanos, who say that these *caibaan* (tiny human beings sometimes visible and sometimes not) have two sexes, and the males claim to have married human women, at least according to the legends. What more does Aduarte have to say??"

G. "He says that when people consulted the demon (in Cagayan) about the fate of a number of victims of a shipwreck, the deceitful answer was that they had been transported to a very rich and fertile land called Mexico. The chronicler also reports that the demon 'parodies our rites, ordering the use of rosaries of a special kind, holy water, and Easter Celebrations in his 'honour.' On page 145 we can read about the Spanish night-watch sentinels (during the months of August and September 1595) who walked around the City (of Nueva Segovia, today Lal-loc) and spotted a mastiff of unheard-of size making several turns around the Church and the adjoining houses. Given that no such dog then existed (and even today does not exist) in Spanish houses, and was even less known among the Indios, who never saw, before and after, such a beast, there can be no doubt who the mastiff really was....'"

I. "This mastiff story reminds me of some stories I heard in Ilocos about nocturnal country apparitions in the form of extensive sheets

"We can read about the Spanish night-watch sentinels (during the months of August and September 1595) who walked around the City (of Nueva Segovia, today Lal-loc) and spotted a mastiff of unheard-of size making several turns around the Church and the adjoining houses. Given that no such dog then existed (and even today does not exist) in Spanish houses, and was even less known among the Indios, who never saw, before and after, such a beast, there can be no doubt who the mastiff really was..."





sa Ilocos tungcol sa paglitao cung gabi nang m̃ga cumot na nalalatag sa m̃ga parang nagaua n̄ m̃ga Katatao-an at m̃ga salita naman tungcol sa m̃ga curang ualang ulo na ang sabi lumalabas sa m̃ga simbahan.

--- Tungcol sa m̃ga cumot ay nag papaalaala sa duende o m̃ga babaing nag lalaba cung gabi na sinasabi sa España at ang uica ni Mayolo sa ilang monasterio sinasalita na sa lugar na pinaglilibing̃an n̄ ilang m̃ga Religioso, lumilitao ang caparis nila, ualang ulo tanda n̄ canilang biglang camatayan.

---Hindi co pinaniniualaan iyan: ticlopin mo ang fojas.

--- Sa Pag. 148. «At sa panahong ito mairoon sa isang bayang malapit dito (sa Pata) tinatauag Cabacungan, isang babae bali-tang anitera o sacerdotisa na quinacausap na parati n̄ demonio at sa bibig niya sinasabi nitong m̃ga ilang arao ang m̃ga catacot tacot na bagay, at sa pamamaguitan niya guinagaua n̄ caauay sa m̃ga tauong yaon ang malaquing pagcasuclam sa pananampalataya» At n̄ paparoonin doon n̄ m̃ga Religioso ang isang tagalog na ang n̄alan ay D. Francisco Irigan, «ang demonio hindi nanga-has maghintay sa tagalog na armado nang m̃ga cruz, sinungaban yaong sacerdotisa at nauala silang bigla at capua hindi na lumitao

[shrouds?], which were the work of the *catatao-an* and explained by legends about headless parish priests who popped out of churches, so it was said.”

G. “I too have read something like that, where Mayolo talks about some monasteries, reporting that in the place where some monks had been buried, the ghosts of some of them appeared without heads, an indication of their sudden deaths.”¹⁴

I. “I don’t believe it. Please turn the page!”

G. “Page 148. In those days, in a township called Cabacungan, close by Pata, there was a famous India, either an *anitera* or a *sacerdotisa* [priestess] with whom the demon frequently spoke. Through her mouth he said terrible things about those days and made people abhor the Faith.... When the Religious [priests] sent an Indio called Don Francisco Irgan to the enemy, the demon, not daring to face this Indio armed with

¹⁴ Dear Readers, you can now rest for a while. Comrades Carlos Sardiña, Ramon Guillermo and I jointly struggled to solve this enigmatic sentence which is in many ways the key to our book. The detective work to find who Mayolo was, and how Isabelo came upon him, took us months, mostly as Dr. Watsons and only in the end as mini-Sherlock Holmeses. At first we thought that Mayolo must have been a well-known personage in the Philippines, since Isabelo casually used a single surname like Rizal, Burgos, Shakespeare, or Marx. But it proved a dead-end. We found no Filipino nor any Spanish colonial bureaucrat or cleric named Mayolo. The hunt therefore turned to Spain, since the name sounded Spanish. By searching contemporary Spanish telephone books, we indeed did find some ordinary Mayolo surnames, but in Spanish encyclopedias the only famous Mayolo was Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo, Peruvian physicist and mathematician who was born in 1887, just the year that *El Diablo* came out. With the help of skilled librarians using Google Books and World Catalogue, we found only two serious candidates.

Our first choice was Saint Majeul or Maïeul (Latin Majolus) who lived from 906 to 994. He was born in the Kingdom of Provence (today’s southern France), whose family owned extensive lands near the northern side of the Pyrenees. The Muslim Arabs and Berbers controlling ‘Spain’ often raided Provence, and the family became impoverished. The young man then became a Benedictine, and for the last 40 years



"I too have read something like that, where Mayolo talks about some monasteries, reporting that in the place where some monks had been buried, the ghosts of some of them appeared without heads, an indication of their sudden deaths."



of his life was the abbot of the famous Abbey of Cluny in Macon, some miles north of Lyon. (In those days Provençal was the main language of all 'Frenchmen' living south of the River Loire. It was only late in the 15th century that 'Parisian French' was imposed on the conquered South.) He was a star in the struggle to stop the pervasive corruption and immorality of monks, priests, and Rome's Catholic hierarchy. After he died he was made a Saint. In 1994 big celebrations were held for the millennium of his death. Our inclination towards the Abbot was supported by his mother-tongue, since Provençal was a language quite close to Catalan — thus Majeul could easily be Hispanified to Mayolo. The big difficulty was that the Saint appeared to be interested in morals and theology, not devils, demons, witches and apparitions. Indeed he lived in a time when these figures were quite local, very much like their equivalents in pre-Catholic Philippines. The Roman Inquisition, formed to demonize them as agents of a centralized 'globalized' Satan, was only created in the 13th century while the far more ferocious Dominican-controlled Spanish Inquisition only in the 15th century. Isabelo seemed to have used a peculiar (see footnote on p.57) Spanish translation of the huge Latin text called *Hormiguero* (The Anthill). It was written in the 1430s by Johannes Nyder (1380-1440), a Dominican from Swabia in the south-western corner of today's Germany, who was obsessed with demons, sorcerers, witches, and of course Satan. How could Saint Majeul supply anything to this activist in the terrible crusade against centralized Evil. Besides, how could Isabelo fail to call any proper Catholic Holy man as Saint? So we gave up on Saint Majeul/Mayolo.

Thanks largely to comrade Carlos Sardiña, we then tackled the second candidate. The man was an Italian variously called Simon Mayoli or Majoli (Italian), Mayolo (Spanish), and Maiolus and Majolus (Latin). He was born in 1520 in the wine-country of Asti, and died in 1597. He was trained to be a canon lawyer and eventually became Bishop of Volturara and Montecorvina. Carlos told us that most Italian names ending with 'li' are Hispanified into 'lo'. Majoli wrote profusely on many subjects, including natural history, demonology, and even werewolves. These topics were combined within his Latin masterpiece, titled *Dias Caniculares* (Dog Days). The book, printed in the year of his death, made him famous all over Western Europe and was translated into French and German. The difficulty we faced was that Majoli was born 80 years after Nyder's death, so how could the latter quote from the former? Another dead-end for us Dr. Watsons!!!

We began to have hope when we noticed that in 1884 J.A. Ramos, editor and publisher of Isabelo's article on the Devil in *Artículos Varios*, wrote a little preface in which he praised the multivolume *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Populares Españolas*, edited by Dr. Antonio Machado y Álvarez, the father of Spanish Folklore Studies, in the same year. It turned out that the last part of Volume 2 was claimed as a Spanish translation of the fifth book of Nyder's colossal work, and was thus titled *Libro de los Maleficios y los Demonios*. It seemed that since the original had been written before Gutenberg's world-changing invention of the moving-metal print-machine, the Latin manuscript had to wait until it was printed in 1600 in Frankfurt and in Spain by Jesuits in 1649 (the year when Charles I was beheaded by the Puritans, and one year after Spain had to accept the independence of Calvinist Holland and Catholic Portugal). The strange thing is that Trigueros, the place of publication, was a tiny township in Huelva, near Spain's southern border with Portugal. Why not in Madrid, Salamanca, Seville, or Barcelona?

Our inspection of the Biblioteca's *Libro de los Maleficios y los Demonios* made it clear that the text was not a simple scholarly work, since it was heavy with 19th century right-wing, ultra-Catholic, and misogynist commentaries and digressions.

On the back cover of a book-form reprint in 2001, in San Sebastian, there is a telling sentence of the long-dead author which goes as follows: *Esta obra fue hecho para risa de los número infinito y profunda reflexión de los pocos que piensan* (This work was made for the laughter of the countless nobodies and for profound reflection by those few who think). Who was the curious author who wrote under a pseudonym? He turned out to be Señor José María Montoto.

Comrade Bomen dug up the following biodata: Born in Santa Eulalia de Cabranes (Asturias) in 1818, he was taken, after his father's early death, to Seville to live with his mother and his uncle, a respected canon lawyer, librarian, and a highly educated humanist. The boy studied law at the University of Letters and later worked as a reporter on both ecclesiastical and secular public law courts. He became well-known in 1847 with the publication of *El Historia del Reinado de Pedro Primero de Castilla, llamado el Cruel 1334-1369* [The History of the Reign of Pedro the First of Castile, called The Cruel]. He was a strong Carlist in the long civil war of succession after Ferdinand VII's death between supporters of the tyrant's one-year-old daughter Isabela and his younger brother, Prince Carlos. In 1870 he founded the magazine *El Desengaño* (Disillusion) and collaborated with the journal *El Folk-Lore Andaluz*, always using the enigmatic pen name Mosén oja Timorato. Even Comrade Carlos was stumped in the face of these three words. A friend reported that in today's Aragon, people address a Catholic priest as Mosén. Oja could not be found in any dictionary, and Timorato means God-fearing. But Montoto was never a priest. However, in the old Kingdom of Aragon (which included Asturias), Mosén was the title for the lowest noble, more or less like 'knight' in the English feudal hierarchy. So we have guessed that logically the pen name must mean something close to 'God-fearing Knight to the end.' Perfect for a melancholy, obstinate, ultra-conservative.

Consider briefly the disasters that people with his outlook experienced in the 19th century:

In 1794 the French Revolutionary Army defeated Spain inside Spain, and when Napoleon came to power he gave the Spanish crown to his brother Joseph Bonaparte in 1808, who held it until Napoleon was himself completely defeated. Between 1810 and 1826 the Spanish empire in the mainland western hemisphere was lost, leaving only the little islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo.

Two years after the Carlist Wars started in 1834, Juan Mendizábal, First Minister of the Regency for baby Isabela, decreed and carried out the expropriation of all the properties of the Orders in Spain, and made the clerics merely salary-men of the state. In 1868 the liberal government closed down all the Orders in metropolitan Spain (but not in the Philippines). No wonder that most clerics were strong Carlists. But the final defeat of the Carlist cause occurred in 1876, when Isabelo was 12 years old. Six years later, Montoto, our old conservative died.

How on earth did reactionary, ultra-Catholic Montoto get his last book published in the pages of the liberal, secular, professional *Biblioteca*? Carlos solved the question by pointing to the preface written by its liberal and truly progressive editor Dr. Antonio Machado y Álvarez, a kind friend of Isabelo whose pen name was Demófilo (Friend of the People). "Even though he held ideas totally opposed to ours, we believe that it is our duty to pay tribute here, and remember with affectionate respect and consideration a man who in his private life was a model of gentlemanliness and honorability...." The Machado and Montoto families, long settled in Seville, had been close friends across generations [Machado was born in 1848, 30 years after Montoto]. The inclusion of the old Carlist's posthumous work in *Biblioteca Tomo 2* was a tribute to the recently deceased family friend and author.

It is more than likely that when Machado wrote letters and sent books to Isabelo, he asked him not to mention the name Montoto to avoid polemics. Isabelo was sensitive enough to comply.

Ironically, Isabelo came to be heavily indebted to the unnamable man's work. Above all, the youngster found the inspiration to turn upside down the reactionary and ultra-Catholic ideology of Montoto by mockery and sly imitation. Hence the birth of *El Diablo*. Comrade Bomen told me that in 1899, Isabelo gave a sober account of this work as follows: (See his *Sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución de 1896* [Madrid: J. Corrales], p. 100.)

"In order to belie the so-called incapacity of Filipinos, Ramos published a luxurious edition of some of my articles on the ethnography, history and customs of the country. In this short book, among smarmy and ironical praises for the Friars, I worked to slip in historical proofs about them, showing that far from 'teaching the true Christian religion' it was they who created for the people a huge pile of superstitions and absurdities about supernatural beings, apparitions of the dead, etc.; for the mountain tribes to become hungry for progress, and be ready to be civilized, all that is needed is a little good will among the missionaries."

A. Carlos pointed out that on page 29 of the 2001 printing, Montoto says sarcastically that he remembers a book published in Trigueros in 1649 by a man whose name he will not mention for fear that his friends will run to find the book and waste their time, just as he had done. No mention of a reprint of Nyder at the same year. Carlos was certain that Montoto's victim was the Jesuit Hernando Castrillo (1586-1667) whose huge 550-page book was called *Magia natural, o ciencia de filosofia oculta*. (Natural Magic or the Science of Occult Philosophy). This text tried hard to make a clear divide between Natural Magic (from God) and Artificial Magic (handled by Satan). It took him six years to get past the hierarchy's censors. (In those days the Jesuits were still strong in southern Spain). What is stunning is that on p. 31, Montoto quotes several sentences from Castrillo's tome (author and book not named) where Mayolo in turn is quoted. (Majoli was born more than a century after Nyder died) Amazingly, Majoli's story about headless ghosts of dead monks is exactly the same in Isabelo's *El Diablo*, cribbed from cribber Montoto. We will remember that Castrillo was 11 years old when Simon Majoli died in 1597. The boy grew up and became a Jesuit in the period when Majoli's *Dias Caniculares* was most popular. Thus we found a clear chain: Mayoli/Mayolo-Castrillo-Montoto-Isabelo.

B. Montoto begins his book with 14 pages devoted to the life of Nyder. Where did he get his sources? We don't know, but maybe he found them in the Frankfurt printing of 1600, which surely included a short Latin biography of 'German' Nyder. (Montoto was fluent in Latin). After that come almost 200 pages divided into 13 chatty Veladas (soirées), where four friends, marked as M. R. G. and C. gather at R's house late in 1879. The dominant speaker by a long shot is M. aka Montoto. The group only argues about the history of conceptions about the Supernatural from Antiquity to the present. This format is plainly a light imitation of the deep philosophical conversations between Socrates and his friends as recorded by Plato (with Montoto as Socrates.). One can be pretty sure that the dialogical structure of *El Diablo* is a comic version of the Veladas only minus Socrates-Montoto.

C. Isabelo cheerfully cribbed Mayolo from Montoto without a clue as to who he was. This was not his fault since Montoto did not explain this personage, borrowed casually from invisible Hernando Castrillo's 'unreadable' book.

D. The weirdest story in *El Diablo* is about the sorcerer Staedelin in 15th century Switzerland (see note 20, p. 55). It is 'plagiarized' word for word from Montoto's translation of Nyder's Fifth Book.

I believe that Isabelo was a lucky young man in a time of rapid change. The final collapse of the pitifully shrunken Spanish Empire was on the horizon. In the modern world of science, technology, industrial capitalism, and early class war, irrational religious autocracy was rapidly weakening. The telegraph made almost immediate transmission of news and letters, etc. across the world. Isabelo was sharp and energetic enough to see the cultural and political importance of the new science of Folklore/Ethnography. Centuries-long Truths of Catholicism were crumbling into mere legends, myths, old wives' tales, which were to be analyzed in an entirely secular manner. He also understood that in a country dominated by the Orders, folklore could be a powerful weapon in the struggle for freedom. He was in the position to be a true ilustrado (a heroic thinker who brings light out of darkness, not a university educated fatcat). He was also eager to keep in touch with generous and gifted overseas scholars (One could also mention the luck that Montoto died in 1882, not 1872 when Folklore journals did not yet exist).

The hero behind the screen was Antonio Machado y Álvarez. In the opening pages of *El Folk-Lore Filipino* Don Belong wrote: 'Dr. Machado y Álvarez, the creator of the journal *Folk-Lore Español* and Don Alejandro Guichot y Sierra, Director of the *Boletín Folklorico de Sevilla*, the leading figures in the study of Spanish Folklore, managed to turn me toward this new way of thinking and also stimulated me. They also gave me *all* the works on Folklore published in Spain, and kept me up to date.' Machado helped place Isabelo's articles in Folklorist journals, and gave him Mayolo and Montoto.

Machado died early at the age of 47. But his younger son, Antonio Machado y Ruiz became one of the greatest modern Spanish poets. Here is a translation of his *Caminante* that every Spaniard loves :

Wanderer, your footsteps are
The road and nothing more
Wanderer, there is no road
The path is made by walking
By walking one makes the path
And upon glancing behind
One sees the path
That never will be trod again
Wanderer, there is no road,
Only wakes upon the sea.

at hindi na maalaman cung saan dinala at cung ano ang guinaua sa caniya.»

---Tungcol naman sa pagcatacot n̄g demonio sa Cruz, na ala ala co na aquing nabasa sa pag. 174 sa Labor Evangelica n̄g Jesuita P. Colin ang nang̃a susunod: «Ang demonio na cailan may hindi natutulog, inulit na namang sinindac (ang m̄ga taga Antipolo) na itinuro o ipinaalam sa canila na ang lilim niyong Cruz (na itinayò sa plaza n̄g bayan S. Tiago ni P. Diego Sanchez) ay nilalason ang hang̃in at siyang naguiguing dahilan n̄g saquit at camatayan, na dumadapo sa canila, at cung hindi nila alisin ay lalong darami pa. Nan̄gag si paniuala yaong m̄ga cahabag habag, caya n̄ga,t, canilang binunot,» n̄guni,t, carugtong nasabi; pinarusahan ng cahimahimala yaong nan̄gag si sunod sa hatol n̄g demonio, at n̄g paroon si P. Angelo Hermano na humalili cay P. Sanchez, «sa pamamaguitan nang m̄ga Babaylanes pinapaniuala sila (n̄g demonio) m̄ga catha cathang salita na casiraan din nila, na sa pagpasoc nila roon ay isinumpang papatain siya at ang tanang mag sisusunod sa caniya, at susunuguin ang m̄ga bahay nilang tahanan at mang̃a simbahan at m̄ga cruz na canilang ibangon.»

---Sa bagay namang ito nagsalita si P. Gaspar de S. Agustin na caniyang isinulat.:

«Dito sa bayan (n̄g Dumalag, Panay) may puno ng cahoy nalubhang malaquí na pinag cacatipunan nang lubhang maraming ibon, na palaguing nagcacain̄gay sa canilang sigauan, nacamu-muhing masaquit sa boong bayan, at ang m̄ga tagalog gumagalang na totoo sa cahoy na yaon na di man sila mang̃ahas lumapit cahit malayo ang aguat n̄g hacbang, ni pumutol n̄g damó, at yaon dao ay sagrado, sa pagca,t, ang uicà ay tinatahanan n̄g m̄ga Divatas, na ito

Crosses, seized the *sacerdotisa* and made her disappear. The two were never seen again, and no one ever knew where he took her and what he did to her.”¹⁵

G. “Speaking of the demon’s horror before the Cross, I remember reading the following on page 174 of *Labor Evangélica* written by the Jesuit Father Colín. ‘The demon, who never sleeps, turned to disquieting the people (of Antipolo), giving them to understand that the shadow of that Cross (planted by Father Diego Sanchez on the plaza of the township of Santiago) was poisoning the air and thus causing illnesses and deaths which circulated among the locals.’¹⁶ If the people did not remove the Cross, there would be many more disasters. The wretched people believed what the demon said and were determined to uproot the Cross.’ But, the author added, ‘miraculous punishments befell those who tried to carry out the advice of the demon. Knowing that Father Angelo Hermano was coming to relieve Father Sanchez, the demon, using the *babaylanas*,¹⁷ made many people believe his deceits to their own loss, and to carry them out, they swore to kill the incoming priest and other newcomers, and also to burn down their houses of habitation, churches, and the crosses the enemies had built.”

G. “Father Gaspar de S. Agustin also talks about this type of trouble in the following words: ‘In the township of Dimalag (in Panay)... there was a gigantic tree on which uncountable numbers of small birds used to meet.’¹⁸ They never stopped making a tremendous noise with the chirping they created, and this was a notable inconvenience for all the people of the township. But the Indios had such superstitious reverence

¹⁵ In the 1734 map provided, Isabelo’s name is given as Cavicungan, and can be found close to today’s Pata.

¹⁶ Friar Francisco Colín worked in the Philippines from 1625 to 1660. His famous book was published in Madrid in 1663. For biographic data see the Map of the Chroniclers.

¹⁷ *Babaylanas* usually means female seers. But there were famous male seers who dressed themselves as women.

¹⁸ Dimalag still exists in the northern interior of Panay.



"...In the township of Dimalag (in Panay)... there was a gigantic tree on which uncountable numbers of small birds used to meet. They never stopped making a tremendous noise with the chirping they created, and this was a notable inconvenience for all the people of the township. But the Indios had such superstitious reverence for the tree that they would not approach it even from a considerable distance..."



baga,i, dios co sa m̃ga parang, at dioses sa m̃ga bundoc at gubat na niyaong daco rong panahon ay sinasamba..... si Fr. Hernando de Morales naparoon sa cahoy na yaon at itinala niya sa puno ang isang cruz at pagdaca,i, naualang lahat ng m̃ga ibon at hindi na naman nagbalic, gayon may ang iba,i, lalapit at bago magtatacho, sapagca,t, ang m̃ga ibong yaon ay ang m̃ga demonio o m̃ga tagalog sa bayan, na doon sila nangag pupulong casama ng m̃ga demonio.

---¿ Yaon caya,i, m̃ga *asuangs*?... sinasabi ñgang tunay na ito,i, m̃ga Visaya na lumilipad na parang ibon, sabagay na ito naquita namang lumipad yaong si Simon, na lumagpac sa lupa dahil sa pananalangin ni S. Pedro; at tuncol naman sa m̃ga sali salita na ang m̃ga asuang pinapatay ng canilang dila ang mga batang na sa saloob ng tiyan ng buntis pinatotohanan ng inquisidor na si Pedro Juez sa Lausana na isang nagnangalan Staedelin mangagaua,i, sinabing siya,i, pumatay sa loob ng tiyan ng isang babae ng pitong batâ, at sa catunayan sa guinauang ito, ay sa m̃ga panahong yaon ualang hayup na ipinangnac na buhay, dahilan sa isang butiqui na nadurog na at ng maialis na ito; nagsaoli ang pagaanac ng mangã titira roon.

--- Sa pag. 161 ay nababasa: na isang taga Pata na ang ñgalan Gregorio Amuting «Ng sia,i, may saquit nacaquita ng tatlong demonio na masama ang hichura sa gitna ng malaquing ningas ng apoy ang isa sa canila,i, nag uica: dalhin natin ang tauong ito ang sagot ng dalaua. Hindi mangyari,t , na hingi ng aua sa Dios.

for the tree that they would not approach it even from a considerable distance. They also refused to cut the nearby grass which they likewise regarded as sacred. They explained this custom by saying that the tree was inhabited by Divatas, deities of the forests and mountains, whom they venerated from ancient times.... Father Hernando de Morales came to the tree and carved a cross on its trunk, whereupon all the birds departed forever; even if a few people moved in, they soon fled too, because these birds were demons or [the souls of] Indios of the township, who had meetings with the demon on just that spot.¹⁹

G. Are they *aswangs* [predatory evil spirits in the Philippines]? In effect, it is clear that they are Visayans, and they fly like birds. The fact of the matter is that they were seen flying to a certain Simon, who fell to the ground in the face of the prayers of Saint Peter. Because of the legend that *aswangs* use their mouths to kill fetuses in the wombs of pregnant women, the Inquisitor Peter, Judge of Lausanne, affirmed that a certain Staedelin, an evil one, confessed that he had killed seven fetuses in the womb of a woman. What happened during the next years was good proof of this. In that time, not a single animal was born alive, until a tiny lizard was changed into dust, and when this happened the fertility of the inhabitants and their domestic animals returned.²⁰

G. "On page 161 one reads about a native from Pata named Gregorio Amunting, who 'when ill, saw three very ugly demons in the midst of huge tongues of fire. One of them said: Let's just take this man away! But the other two replied by saying: We can't do anything to someone

¹⁹ This quotation comes on pages 1031-2 in the new bilingual translation of Friar Gaspar's *Conquistas*.

²⁰ Thanks to Comrade Bomen, we ran across the existence of a fascinating article by Michael D. Bailey called "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Medieval Ages," published in the journal *Speculum*, vol. 76, number 4, October 2001, pages 960-990. In 2006 the Cambridge University published an extended text, with the same name, as a full book. In pages 106-9 of the latter, the author analyzes the *Formicarius* aka *Hormigueros* (*The Anthill*) as a big confused and contradictory set of tomes written in 1437-8 by the Dominican theologian

Nagsisigao ang may saquit humihinging tulong laban doon sa catacot tacot na caauay, na itinuturo ang quinalalaguian, nangilabot ang mğa casama niya roon uala mang naquiquita, at pagdaca,i, lumucso ang isa sa mğa demonio at tinacpan ang caniyang bibig malaong oras.

---Ya,i, isang bangũngũt lamang.--- Tao ca.

--- Tungcol dito sa pananacot (idinugtong pa) sa icalauang talata noon ding pag. 16 nğ mğa demonio sa mğa tagalog yao,i caraniuan na sa mğa maguino. at mapapacahabang lubha cung sasaysaing lahat ang bagay na nangyayaring ganganito.

who pleads for God's compassion. The sick man shouted for help against these frightening enemies, signaling where they were, yet fearful that the people coming to guard him could not see the demons. At this, one of the demons jumped on top of him and shut his mouth for a long time."²¹

I. "That was just a nightmare, hombre!"

G. "Using the demons to terrify the Indios (continuing on the second column of the same page) is something commonplace for the *principales*. It is unnecessary to give particular examples, as there are many. Prolix reports were often sent in, especially in cases where there had been some success."²²

Johannes Nyder. Around 1375, a man called Scavius [scabby man] became the first Great Witch in the higher Swiss Alps near Bern. Among his many powers, he could turn himself into a mouse and so avoided capture. He passed on his skills to an acolyte called Hoppo, who in turn taught Staedelin. This practice of teaching sorcery was very old, going back to Antiquity, and had nothing to do with the Devil, possession by demons, and so on. But Staedelin lived in a time when sorcery was being turned, by Rome, into witchcraft centrally controlled by Satan and his lesser devils. Staedelin was arrested and tried by Judge Peter. He confessed that he used spells to kill seven babies in a certain woman's womb, each of them aborted. He also killed the animals belonging to the woman and her husband by secretly putting a lizard under their doorstep. The authorities eventually dug up the mouldy lizard remains, whereupon human beings and animals became fertile again. This practice was malign traditional sorcery. But Staedelin was denounced in court as the Great Witch obeying the orders of Satan. The poor man insisted he had nothing to do with the Devil, so he was tortured and then executed. What is striking in all this is that in the *Conquistas* the author stood firmly by Nyder's book, by then more than 250 years old.

²¹This comes from page 161, but Isabelo's version cuts out the following sentence.

²² This quotation comes also from page 161. Isabelo's version makes the mistake of using the word *principales*, while the original has *à principios* meaning 'at first.' Township rich men are therefore irrelevant to the quotations. Gaspar was not writing about local politicians and secular bureaucrats. He was not talking about reports being sent up to superiors, and not even 'successes.' He was concerned with conversions to Christianity and the war against local evil spirits. What he says is "In the beginning it was commonplace for the demons to terrify the Indios; then there were more lengthy, detailed stories going around, especially when some event really happened." What we can see is that before the Spaniards arrived the Indios had their own scary evil spirits as part of everyday life. But when the Spaniards arrived, the priests wanted to get extensive information about these local demons, and especially when they themselves actually were witnesses of such terrifying events.

--- Dahil sa caraniuan na sa lupang ito ang bangūgut.

-- At idinugtong pa: sa Itabes (Cagayan) --- Napaquita sa isang maysaquit ang mġa demonio na ang uica: Ano caya,t, ibig mo pang pabinyag ay uala na nġang panahon... at casabay nitong uica, ang gaua: nilusob siya sa boong cagalitan parang papatain at capag-caraca ang sabi: na lumabas ang tatlong Religioso Dominico na siya,i, ipinagsangalang laban doon sa mġa demonio at sila,i, pina-tacas; na di man niya naquilala cung sino sino yaong nagsitulong sa caniya; nġuni,t, nangag daramit nġ puti sa dacong loob, at may mġa capang itim, na hindi niya cailanman naquiquita.

--- Aba tayo,t, iya,i, isang pagcaualang diua nġ may saquit).

---¿ At baquit napapangarap ang mġa bagay na di pa niya naquiquita?

--- Hindi cailanġan ang maquita ang isang bagay ng ating mapag curo cung ano; sucat ang maringġig lamang sa mġa bal-ita, lalo,t, higit cung tungcol sa panaguinip o caualan nġ diua.

--- Iyan nga,i, mangyayari; datapua naman dapat paniualaan ito, na sinasabi nġ isang manunulat na Catolico «Nġ mangyaring maalis sa mġa tauo ang paniniuala sa Dios, caniyang pinagsabay-ang maalis sa canila ang paniniuala sa diablo.» At ang mangġa ma-sasama sinasabi na ang infierno ay hindi naaagpang sa cabutihan nġ Dios, at nililimot nila na ang catouiran at cagalingġan ay tunay na nagcacaacma.

I. "That how common is the nightmare in this country!"

G. "The author added that in Itabes-Cagayan 'demons appeared before a sick man, asking him why he tried to be a Christian, since it was already too late; following their words with actions, the demons furiously attacked, as if about to kill him'. At this point the author says that three Religious Dominicans showed up to defend the sick man. They managed to scare the demons without him knowing who the men were who had rescued him, except that they were dressed inside with white robes, along with black hoods, something he had never seen before."²³

I. "Let's go! All this was just a patient's delirium."

G. "Yes, how could a man dream of something that he has never seen?"

I. "It isn't necessary to see something in order for us to form an idea of it, so long as one has heard some reports, specially dealing with dreams and deliria."

G. "That could be so. Nonetheless it is worth taking into account what a Catholic writer has said: 'For managing to eliminate men's belief in God, one has to test whether one has destroyed their belief in the Devil.' And impious people affirm that Hell is incompatible with the goodness of God, forgetting that justice and goodness are perfectly compatible."

²³ This quotation also comes from page 161. Isabelo's sloppy version omits a sentence which explains 'already too late.' The original continues as "for your sinful life there is no remedy except going with us to Hell."

"And impious people affirm that Hell is incompatible with the goodness of God, forgetting that justice and goodness are perfectly compatible."



--- Caibigan, huag tayong palalaot sa pag uusisa sa m̃ga bagay sa Teologia; sapagca,t, ang tuntunga,i totoong madulas. Ang lahat ñg m̃ga binasa mo sa aquin caramiha,i, m̃ga panaguinip o salita ñg m̃ga may saquit na sa lagay ñg canilang pagiisip ay di matunayan. Tungcol sa m̃ga pahirap ñg m̃ga demonio, ang P.S. Agustin sumulat sa pag. 516 ñg caniyang libro Conquista: Nangyari cay Fr. Alonso Escos ñg taong 1674 ñg caniyang dalhin sa simbahan ang isang babaeng tagalog ang ñgala,i, Sabina na quinuha ñg demonio sapagca,t, ayao pumayag na maguing Babaylana (pinacapariparian) niya, sa oras ñg pagtugtog nang Santos pinahihirapang masaquit ñg demonio, na quinailangang ilabas sa simbahan. --- Ito,i, nangyari sa bayan ng Mamburao (Panay). ¿ Ito caya,i, may catotohanan?

--- Cung tulutan ñg Dios ang demonio mangyayaring pasaquit na niya ang ating catauan paris ni Job, at hangang alisan tayo ñg isip catulad ñg ulol na nasasabi sa cap. 22 ni San Mateo at cay Saul ayon sa sa libro 1. tuncol sa m̃ga hari.

Ñguni,t, ang totoo ang m̃ga balio sa aquing lupa ay sinasabi na may caibigan silang castila sa canila lamang napaquiquita.

--- Ja, ja. Bayaan natin iyang m̃ga balio at magbalic tayo sa Historia ni P. Aduarte. Sa pag. 162 ay «nababasa sa isang bayan na tinatauag na Camalaniugan (Cagayan) dinatnang bigla ñg saquit ang isang babaeng tagalog na di binyagan, nahihirapang lubha... hangang sa naging parang patay; ñg dumating ang Religioso Fr. Gaspar Zarsate at buhusan ñg tubig sa pagbibinyag pagdaca,i, nagtataua; dito,i, naquilala na ang demonio ang suma sa caniya... Ang guinaua ng Religioso ipinadala sa simbahan, diyan naquiquipagbaca sa demonio hangang mahating gabi, nagpapangap cung minsan, na umiyac, at cung minsan nag papañgusap na parang

I. "My good friend, let's not get engulfed in theological speculations, where the terrain is very slippery. Most of what you have read to me have been the dreams and stories of the ill, whose rationality is dubious. Speaking about the damage caused by the demon, Father San Agustin writes on page 516 of his *Conquistas*: 'In the year 1674, this is what happened to Father Alonso Esco. He had managed to bring into his church an India called Sabina, who had been possessed by the demon, because she did not want to be his *babaylana*. When the Sanctus was sung, the demon tormented her so severely that she had to be taken outside.' This happened in the township of Mamburao, Panay."²⁴

I. "Is this really certain?"²⁵

G. "When God allows it, the demon can ruin us in our bodies,—as happened to Job—and can even deprive us of our reason, like the lunatic in the Twelfth Chapter of Saint Matthew, and like Saul according to Kings 1."

I. "It is certain that the lunatics in my country insist that they have Castilian [Spanish] friends whom only they can see."

G. "Yeah, Yeah! Let's put those lunatics aside and return to Father Aduarte's *Historia*, where we can read the following on page 162: 'In a village named Camalaniugan (Cagayan) a certain pagan India was suddenly affected by an illness that greatly tormented her'²⁶....She was brought into a state like death... when the Religious Friar Gaspar Zarsate was ready to throw water in order to baptize her, she emitted a roaring laugh. From this Friar Gaspar understood that the demon was settled inside her.... The priest had her brought to the church, and there until midnight he fought a pitched battle with the demon. Sometimes

²⁴ Mamburao still exists, a little north of Dumalag.

²⁵ This anecdote is recorded on pages 1100 and 1101 in the modernized bilingual version. We have not yet gotten access to the original page 162.

²⁶ On the 1734 map this town appears as Camalayugan, in Cagayan.

sangol, sa di cauasa,i, bininiyagan, at ang demonio nauala at ang mangā siguang yaon.»

--- Cung gayon ang bautismo ay mabisang gamot laban sa demonio?

-- Madalas cung minsan, n̄uni,t, hindi parati diyan din sa pagina nababasa, na ito ring P. Zarsate, tinauag n̄ caniyang tignan ay isang babaeng india na di bininyagan at quilala n̄ lahat na endemoniada... at dinatnang parang patay, bininyagan siya at bago iniuan, ang acala,i, ligtas na sa demonio; datapua,i, hindi, gayon na pagcatapus na n̄usap, ipinaquilala бага, na ang Religioso hindi nia na paalis... At ang P. Zarsate nag utos sa isang tagalog napa-roon at maguica n̄ Jesus at saca pa alisin ang demonio sa catauan noon, guinaua n̄a ng tagalog at sumunod naman ang demonio, Bagama,t, gayon cung minsan ang demonio natatacot sa mga cristiano, dahilan lamang sa pagca,t, cristiano.

Sa pag. 387 n̄ P. Colin naquiquita ang ganito---Nagdaraan ang isang cristiano nagcataon sa harap n̄ isang bahay na guinagauang casalucuyan ang paghahaing casuclam suclam na sacrificio sa demonio, at pagcatapat n̄ cristiano nan̄usap: Pagpilitan ninyo na huag manhic, sapagca,t, malaqui ang tacot co sa m̄a cristiano. Ang bagay na ito na pahayag sa lahat. Yayang nasabi mo sa aquin ang bagay tungcol sa paggalang sa demonio, itulot mo sa aquin ang basahin co sa iyo ang nasusunod: Nang taong 1673 sinulat ni P. Agustin --- Lumabas ang isang Secta (ó bagong religion) n̄ m̄a nauulol na bayan nang Malanor. Ang punong may gaua ay isang masamang Babaylan, tinatauag na Tapar na nagdadamit babae; na ito sa m̄a gaua niyang panggagauay at paquiquipagtipan sa demonio, guinugulo ang boong provincia n̄ Ogton ngayo,i, (Iloilo) at n̄ siya,i, macaligtas n̄ macailan sa mangā Ministro n̄ Justicia na pinagpipilitan siyang hanapin, umurong sa lalong casucalan n̄ bundoc doon guinagauang palagui ang paghahain sa demonio

pretending to weep, and at other moments speaking like a child, the demon stormily left her body at the end of the baptism."

I. "Then baptism is the best medicine against a demon..."

G. "Indeed very often, but not always. On the same page we can read that the very same Father Zarsate 'was called on to observe another pagan India who was known to be possessed by the demon....He found her looking as if she were dead. He baptized her and spoke to her, thereby believing that she was liberated from the demon. But in fact the demon was still inside her, and spoke through her, letting the Religious know that he would not be able to expel him. Father Zarsate ordered an Indio present to say 'Jesus,' which is to pronounce the name of Jesus. After that he ordered the demon to leave the woman's body. The Indio did as he was told, and the demon obeyed."²⁷ In spite of this, sometimes the demon fears Christians only because they are Christians. On page 387 of his book, Father Colín shows how he discovered this: 'By chance a Christian passed by the front of a house where an abominable offering to the demon was being carried out, as if to compete with the Christians. When the demon saw the Christian coming, he said to his worshippers: Make sure he doesn't go up into the house, because I am terrified by these Christians.' This was what was published."²⁸

I. "Seeing that you have shown me something about the cult of the demon, let me read to you the following: 'In the year 1673,' writes Father San Agustin, 'a sect rebelled in the township of Malanor de Alumbrados. Its leader was an accursed *Babaylan* called Tapar, who walked about in women's clothes."²⁹ His witchcraft and his pact with the demon stirred up the whole Province of Ogtong (today Ilo-Ilo). Having many times escaped the Minister of Justice who was hunting him down, he retired

²⁷ This anecdote indeed begins on page 162, but doesn't end till page 163 to which we still do not have access.

²⁸ As said before, we do not yet have the text of Friar Colín.

²⁹ This township seems to have been close to today's Ilo-Ilo, Panay.

itinatanim at iquinacalat sa caniyang m̃ga cababayan ang masamang pagtuturo ñg m̃ga daya niya, na maraming nangagsitangap. Guinaua niyang paraan ang sa m̃ga Gerarquías ñg iglesia triufante at militante at guinagá naman ñg isa sa m̃ga daquilang manggagauay, ang pagparis sa Dios Ama, ang iba sa canila,i, sa iba namang personas ñg Dios; at isang dalahirang babaeng tagalog ang sa Virgen María; at ang iba,i, ang sa labingdalauang Apostoles, may Papa,t, Obispo, na ang lahat ñg ito,i, pinamumunuan ng demonio, na naquiquita nilang iba,t, ibang he-chura. Nagcacatipon itong masasamang capulung̃an sa casuloc sulucan ñg bundoc, doon naghahain ñg sacrificio sa demonio at diniring̃ig nila ang m̃ga casagutan.

--- Iyan ay nacacatulad ñg quilos niyaong bagong nangyayari sa Samar na guinaua ñg isang tagaroon na ibig niyang pang̃anlang siya,i, Dios, at gayon din naman ang cay Luñgao ang Dios ilocano, na magmunacala na gumaua ñg guló ñg taong 1811 sa Ilocos Norte. Gayondin sa Ilocos Sur; dito sa m̃ga huling panahon may isang matanda na nagpapangap na ina ñg Dios.

--- Bagay naman sa simbahan ñg m̃ga tagalog halos lahat ñg Autores ayao maniuala na mairoon, ang uica ñg nasabing Fr. Gaspar de S. Agustin, capagcaracana,i, sabihan na sa m̃ga panahong daco ay yaong (taluctoc o burol sa Pang̃ibalon, Visayas) ang lalong balitang pinananalang̃inan, ñg m̃ga tagalog, doon ang demonio sa tang̃ing abuloy sinasagot ang canilang m̃ga paghahain na nariring̃ig ñg lahat nang naroon. At sinasalita ñg Cronista, na sa malapit sa burol na ito nang̃alalaglag ang magagandang Cruz na bato capag cumuculog.

to the roughest part of the mountains, where he continued to make sacrifices to the demon, spreading the perverse doctrine of his deceits among his fellow-peasants, many of whom embraced it, appropriating the hierarchies of the Triumphant and Militant Church [copying the characters of the Catholic Church]. One of the greatest sorcerers assumed the figure of the Eternal Father, others assumed those of other Divine Persons, a lewd India that of the Virgin Mary, and others those of the Twelve Apostles, the Pope, and the Bishops. All of these people were visibly captained by the demon in various shapes. This infamous charade was put together in the remotest part of the mountains in order to offer sacrifices to the demon and listen to his responses."³⁰

I. "A good analogy for all this can be seen in the motives behind recent happenings in Samar, triggered by an Indio who tried to be taken as God. One is also reminded of Luñgao, the Ilocano God, who forged a conspiracy in North Ilocos in 1811. Furthermore, in these last years, out of South Ilocos has come an old woman who claims that she is the Mother of God."

G. "As for the temples of the indigenes, all the chroniclers have said that they never existed. According to Father Gaspar de San Agustin: 'It is common knowledge that in ancient times the Crag of Pangibalon (in the Visayas) was the most celebrated place for worship by the Indios... where the demon [through the *babaylanas*] gave responses to the sacrifices which were listened to by everyone.' The chronicler also reported that whenever there were thunderstorms near the Crag, beautiful blue crosses made of stone fell from the skies."³¹

³⁰ We have accessed this story on page 1123 of the modernized, English version of *Conquistas*.

³¹ We have access to this tale via page 1133 of the modernized *Conquistas*.

--- Ang mġa simbahan nġ mġa Cagayan ay isang tila cubo caparis nġ mġa Tinguian: Sinasalita ---Ang sabi ni P. Aduarte - sa pag. 163, maraming mga aniteras o sacerdotisas nġ demonio na cung pumasoc ang mġa religioso sa bayan nġ di binyagan ay ang pinag pipilitang gauin, ay ang pagpapaalis sa demonio sa bahay na pinagsasambahan na yao,i, mġa cubo. Nanaguinip sila sa gayon naquiquita nila ang canilang mġa anito na muchang calabao at mġa taong maitim na naglalacad sa mġa parang nanġag hihi-nagpis sapagca,t, sila,i, pinalayas sa canilang bahay... ¿Tunay caya bagá na cay S. Antonio,i, napaquita ang isang demonio na muchang hipocentauro? (ito,i, calahati,i, tauo at calahati cabayo.)

--- Datapua sino caya ang maniniuala sa panaguinip?

Iyang sa mġa taong maitim hindi sasala,t, iyan ang mġa gigante sa guniguni lamang na tinatauag nġ mga ilocano: pugut cahuluga,i, maitim. --- Ang sabi co,i, guniguni lamang, nġuni,t, sa Iloco may mġa taong mahusay at marurunong na ipinaglalaban na hindi at ang sabi ay doon sa manġa taon 1865 ó 67 isang camay na di naquiquita binabato ang isang bahay na nasasa Vigan, sapagca,t, nġ bagopa,i, ipinagpalagay nila na gaua nġ isang pillo sa

G. "The temples of the people of Cagayan were just huts, like the temples of the Tingguians. Father Aduarte reports, on page 163, as follows: 'Many *aniteras* and priestesses of the demon related that when priests went to the villages of infidels, their first task was to remove the demon from the houses of worship, which were merely huts. Then these women dreamed, and saw in their dreams their *anitos* [spirits] in the shape of carabao or buffaloes, and black-skinned men, wandering about the fields, moaning because they had been expelled from their homes.'³² If it were certain that a demon appeared to Saint Anthony in the form of a hypocentaur, half man and half horse, then what?"³³

I. "But who gives any importance to dreams? The black-skinned men are indubitably the imaginary giants whom the Ilocanos call *pugút*, in other words 'blacks'.³⁴ I've said that they are imaginary, but in Ilocos there are serious-minded, educated people who say the opposite.³⁵ They recount how in the years 1865 to 1867 an invisible hand threw stones

³² This material cannot be found; as of now we don't have access to page 163. It doesn't exist on the page 162 cited by Isabelo.

³³ It looks likely that Isabelo muddled St. Anthony with St. Augustine. In Montoto's text, Saint Augustine ran into what he (or his copyist) later called hypocentaurs during a missionary journey to Ethiopia. It is clear that what he saw was hippopotamuses, which are commonplace along the upper Nile. In classical Greek, the prefix *hypo-* means 'down' or 'below' which makes no sense when attached to either centaur or horse. The prefix *hippo-* means 'horse', while *potamus* means 'river.' So hippopotamus means 'river horse.'

³⁴ In the translated *El Folklore Filipino* there is in chapter VI (page 57) a short account, translated into English, of the *Pugot/Pugút*. "The Ilocanos fear the *pugot* which can take several forms, sometimes a cat with fiery eyes, at other times a sinister dog which gradually increases in size, or a black giant of horrifying dimensions." Imagine him, my readers, seated on the windowsill of a house 18 meters high, his feet touching the ground. The common people say the *pugot* smokes giant-sized cigars.

The natives of Vigan recount that in the years 1865 to 1867 a rain of stones fell over a house for some nights and it was blamed on some unknown prankster. The house was surrounded by policemen, but this did not stop the rain of stones. Most of the stones were thrown with force, but curiously enough, no one got hurt. According to the Ilocano version, the *pugot* (*cafre* to Spaniards) lives in empty rooms of old houses or in the ruins of old buildings. For this reason I believe that the *pugot* is one of the *anitos* of olden times.

³⁵ It is amusing to learn that the Spanish *cafre* (which is *kapre* in Tagalog) comes from the Arabic *kafir* meaning, contemptuously, non-Muslim).

lansang; ang m̃ga justicia sa bayan binacod ang bahay na yaon dapua ang nangyari cahit anong pag-iing̃at ang gauin nagtutuloy ring lumalagpac ang mga bato doon lamang sa bahay na yaon, na hindi naman maguing aerolito, (o hamog na tumitigas na parang bato, at lalo nang̃a, na ang m̃ga inihahaguis ay m̃ga capirasong tapayan, at ang lalong di sucat paniualaan ay ang sinasabi ñg capitan ng panahong yaon na siyang pinagbilinang magbantay doon sa bahay na tungcol doon sa m̃ga bato cahima,t, tila inihahaguis ñg boong lacas ay hindi nacasasaquit sa m̃ga tauo, na cong sila,i, tamaan dahandahan ang lagpac at ang uica pa,i, naquita nang caniyang m̃ga matá. Dapat naman talastasin na ang naturang capitang pasado ay ualang muc-hang sinung̃aling at ang ibang m̃ga pare sa Iloco sinasalita sa aquin na canilang naquita ang paglagpac niyong m̃ga bato.

---¿Iyan bagang nagsasalita,i, m̃ga tagaroon?

--- Oo caibigan co ¿datapua,i, sa ating bayan nama,i, ualang m̃ga taong mahusay? Gayon din naman ang nangyari sa Abra na di pa nalalaon, na ang may ari pa nang bahay na binabató ay castila taga España, at gaano mang pagiing̃at o panunuboc na gauin ay hindi man nila mahuli ó matakot ang bumabató; na cong sa bagay sa m̃ga provincia ang m̃ga castila iguinagalang at quinatatacutan ñg m̃ga taga roon.

at a house situated in Vigan and how at first this act was attributed to a [naughty] streetboy. The police surrounded the house in question. But what happened later, defying all precautions, was a shower of stones confined only to that house, so they could not possibly be aerolites, especially since some of the stones were dirty pieces of pottery. The most incredible of all was something insisted on by the former *gobernadorcillo* of a Gremio [Guild] assigned to handle protection for the house.³⁶ He told me that although the stones seemed to have been thrown with force, they did not harm the people on whom they fell quite softly. He said that he had seen all this with his own eyes. It has to be said that this *ex-gobernadorcillo* did not look like a liar, and some of the priests in Ilocos swore to me that they too had seen the falling of these stones.

G. "Were these witnesses indigenes?"

I. "Yes, my friend, but are there no serious people amongst us? Recently there was an event of the same type in Abra. There it was a peninsular Spaniard's house that was stoned, and despite all the measures taken, the authorities were unable to arrest or frighten whoever it was that threw the stones. One has to take into account that in these provinces Spaniards are very much respected and feared by the indigenes."³⁷

³⁶ Ambeth Ocampo describes gremios as guilds of skilled artisans, such as silversmiths and sculptors. Leaders of such guilds often became *gobernadorcillos*.

³⁷ Dr. Heinrich Rothauscher (1851-1937) spent ten years from 1873 to 1883 working as a pharmacist in Manila, Cebu, and Vigan. His unpublished memoirs, *Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Apothekers* (1932), contains the following account of a mysterious event during his stay in Vigan (1876-1878): "My house stood at a crossroads. At the front spread an empty space which allowed me a broad panorama. By the side of the house across the side street stood a building made of stone, which for many years remained unfinished—a completely normal occurrence. It often happens that a stone house is left half-built and only after some years is construction resumed, when the owner has some money. When a house is finished after ten years, the work goes fairly fast. The strange thing about the half-finished house nearby, however, was that it was haunted! A stone often flew from it through my window into the caida, the large porch upstairs. I never saw people go in or out of the house, and in the two years of my stay, no construction done. My lad Geronimo, the best assistant in the pharmacy, told me: 'Señor, there's a *cafri* over there!' A *cafri* (also called an *asuan*) was an evil spirit or a devil, who gave all my lads a creepy feeling of dread. At the window through which the *cafri*

---- Tunay nãa. Na sa pag. 225 sinasabi ni Aduarte na cong paano ang pagdaing nã diablo sa bibig ng caniyang mãa ministras dahil sa pagpasoc nã mga Dominico sa Pilitan (Cagayan): nasa pag. 246 sinasabi ang isang nangyari sa isang Religioso na pinasasaquitan nã isang demonio: at sa pag. 272 nasasabi ang isang catacuttacut na quidlat cagagauan nang diablo; at sa pag. 275 nasusulat: isang taong may saquit (sa Pia Cagayan) na ibig pabinyag nacaquita nã mãa malulupit at nacasusucclam na mãa multo na siya,i, hinihicayat na huag pabinyag, at ipinaaalaala sa caniya yaong dating sinasamba, at mangã dating ugali nã caniyang mãa magulang, pinipintasan siya sapagca,t, ibig magbago nã sinasamba at pinangangaralan na siya,i, manatili sa ley na iniuan nã caniyang canununuan na huag magbago ng lacad ni masòc sa bagong landas, taning na sabi pa,i, anoman gauin pagpilitan ay uui rin doon sa canilang pinarunan; at pagcauca nito,i, hinandulong siya,t, pinagpipilitan siya,i, madalá. Sa gayo,i, lumitao ang tatlo catauo na may capang itim na sa dibdib naquiquita na may damit na puti sa loob at pinalayas yaong malulupit na anino. At sa pag. 331, sinasabi ang isang nangyari na, sapagca,t, caparis ng na sa itaas tila di co na sucat basahin.

---- Iyang mãa nangyaring iyan, hindi pa lubhang catuã cong iparis sa nasasa pag. 254 nã P. S. Agustin na naquiquita roon. Sa calauacang isang munti---ang sulat nã cronista---na sa Lalaguna de Bonbon nangyayari na cong dumarating sa islang ito, ay tatlo catauon magcacasama, matitira ang isa, at mamatay roon na hin-

G. "That's certain. On his page 225 Father Aduarte reports how the devil complained, through the mouths of his female ministers, when the Dominicans entered Pilitan, a township in Cagayan.³⁸ On page 246 he mentions the case of a Religious who was tormented by a demon; and on page 275 he writes as follows: 'a sick man (from Pia, a township in Cagayan), who wanted to be baptized, saw some fierce and abominable apparitions, who dissuaded him from getting baptized, urging him to remember the rites and customs of his ancestors. They berated him for wanting to change his beliefs, and advised him to stick to the Law left to him by his parents and grandparents, not changing the direction of their path or entering any new path. They assured him that the more he kept the faith the more he would go to the place where they would be. Having said all this, the demons pounced on the man, trying to drag him away. Then there appeared three persons with heads covered by black capes, showing by their chests that their inner robes were all white, who shooed away those fierce apparitions.' And on page 332 the author reports about a case quite similar to the one above, so I don't think it is necessary to read it."³⁹

G. "But these cases are not very curious by comparison with what we will find on page 254 of the book of Father San Agustin. 'On a small islet—so wrote the chronicler—in the Laguna de Bombon,⁴⁰ it happened that if perchance three fellow travelers arrived there, one of them would

threw its stones I stacked some specially beautiful large stones each weighing more than a few pounds, and for some days looked out for any ghostly activities. Then a stone as large as a fist flew through the window. I took a heavy stone in my hand and threw it over to the construction and achieved the effect of a bomb. A frightful thud like the collapse of scaffolding flew across the street, which scared my lads frightfully, because they feared that the *cafri* was now coming over our heads! I had immense fun from both sides. The solution to the mystery was that an *Indio* had built a hut inside the unfinished house from the wood that was stored therein. All along the man had protected his hidden hut by creating a fiendish spook. But my hand-grenade had made the flimsy structure stagger and then totally collapse. Thereafter the demonic spirit vanished."

³⁸ Pilitan is not visible on the 1734 map. The same is true of Pia, Cagayan.

³⁹ All the pages mentioned above are fine, except the sentence on page 246 which up to now is not accessible.

⁴⁰ Morga wrote that it was the second largest lake in conquered Philippines after Laguna de Bai. He added that it lay only about 20 leagues (40-60 miles) from Manila. Answer: Taal Lake south of Manila.

di maaalaman ang dahilan niyang saquit na dinaramdam; nagsabi sila rito sa P. Fr. S. Agustin Alburquerque, ito nama,i, naparoon sa islang yaon at nag misa at sa oras nã pagtataas nã hostiang casanto santosan nacaringig sila nã catacottacot na ugong at ingat casama ang voces at hibic at calumbay lumbay na panambitan at saca lumubog sa tuctoc ng bundoc nã volcan. «At idinugtong pa na umulit din» catacot tacot na voces at panangis at may mĩa culog nã paroon at mag misa si Fr. Bartolomé de Alcantara sa isla ring yaon.

Iyan ay nacapangĩgilabot, nãunit, hindi naman huli ang naquita co sa pag. 361 ni P. Aduarte siyang nagsasalita. Na cay P. Fr. Luis Gandullo napaquiquitang madalas ang demonio na iba,t, ibang hichura, isa cayang asong lubhang malaqui. Isang arao nang matapus mag misa nasoc ang Sacerdote sa caniyang celda at nag sará nã pinto napaquita sa caniya ang diablo dian sa ibabao nã mesa hechurang Cristo na may damit na morado hangang sa paa at ang mucha,i, totoong ganda, dapua,i, si P. Fr. Luis ay naguica: hindi nã icao yaong tinutularan mo at itinaas ang camay nã gauin ang tanda nã Cruz bago niya nagaua nagsabi na ang demonio cong sino siya, bago naghechurang pusang ganid na malaqui, maitim at catacot tacot na bumubuga nã apoy at casaquitan.

---- Iyan nga,t, ualang pinag ibahan sa pugot nang mĩa ilocano na sa mĩa hechurang tinutularan ayon sa mĩa salita ay naroon ang sa pusa, at aso. Mayroon pa sa saging mĩa Cristo ang cronistang Fr. Gaspar sinasabi na [...] gaua sa mĩa bundoc sa Dumangas (Panay) ang nangyaring caguilaguilalas, nã 1674 na ang coronang luma nã crucifijo sa simbahang yaon tumubô ang isang

remain behind, and would die without understanding the cause of his death, or the kind of sickness that he suffered. When Father Agustin de Albuquerque was told about all this.... he went to that islet to say Mass.... But just as he was raising the Holy Host, everyone there heard horrifying roars, accompanied by voices, groans, and sad laments, and the summit of the nearby volcano sank into the crater.... Later on, when a Mass was said in the same place by Friar Bartolomé de Alcántara, groans, fearful voices, and thunderclaps could be heard.⁴¹

G. "Very horrifying! But it is not less so than what appears on page 361, where Father Aduarte reports that 'very often the demon appeared before Father Friar Luis Gandullo in different forms, including a kind of deformed and monstrous dog. One day, after finishing Mass, the priest went into his cell and locked the door. There the demon appeared on top of the table as the figure of Christ, wearing a purple robe down to his feet, and with a beautiful face. But Father Friar Luis said [in Church Latin]: You are not whom you look like! He then raised one hand to make the sign of the Cross. But before he finished, the demon confessed who he really was, taking the form of a fierce, black, and terrifying cat. With fire leaping from his eyes and mouth, the demon declared his rage and his anguish."⁴²

I. "That's more or less like the *pugot* [*pugút* earlier on] of the Ilocanos, who, according to the legends, could take on the shapes of dogs and cats. Furthermore, in speaking about crucifixes, the chronicler Friar Gaspar attributed the singular case of 1674 to the 'conventicle'

⁴¹ For this story we have found half-Spanish and half-English pieces on pages 603 and 604 of the modernized and translated *Conquistas*.

⁴² This anecdote actually combines the end of page 361 and the start of page 362.

uhay na hichurang latigo na humaba nang mahiguit na isang vara at calahati at sa pinacadulo lumitao naman ay limang sangã na may sangdocal na nagcacaparis nã laqui, caya naging hichurang magaling na disiplina.»

--- Atin nã tapusin ang tomo ni P. Aduarte: Sa pag. 362: sinasalita na sa Bimmaley (Pangasinan), madalas inaagao nã demonio ang cumot na natataquip sa nasabing P. Gandullo; na ang demonio pinalitan nã suca ang alac sa misa at gayon ang sinabi sa caniya at minsan naman ang Religioso ring ito ay na liguiran nã mãga demonio nã matapus ang maitines at na nasasaclauan nã singão na mainis at mabaho, na nangagaling sa mãga diablo. At sa pag. 644 sinasabi ang napaquitang demonio sa isang nag nãgãgalang Fr. Tomas, na dominico na siya,i, bumabasa nã libro sa Pangasinan.

---- ¿Natapus ca na бага ang Obispo, Sr. Aduarte?

---- Tapus na nãunit, ipinauunaua co, na aquing iniuan na ang ibang balita hindi tungcol sa demonio sa Filipinas.

---- Tingnan nga po ninyo ang icalauang bahague.

---- Ang sumulat (ó autor) P. Sta. Cruz sinasalita na ang demonio naquimuc-ha sa babae nã matucso ang isang inchic na bagong naging cristiano at pinapagsalitaang isang dalaga nã uicang latin Griego at Hebreo, na dating hindi nacaalam. Datapua,t, ito,i, nangyari sa China at hindi sa Filipinas.

---- Cung gayon turan natin ang icatlong bahague.

held in the mountains of Dumangas (Panay).⁴³ The crown—antique to be sure—of the Crucifixion in that church sprouted a spike ‘in the form of a whip, which grew to be one and a half *varas* (7.5 centimetres) in length, and by the end grew five palm branches, almost all the same size, formed in the shape of a perfect whip.’”⁴⁴

G. “Let’s finish with the book of Father Aduarte. On page 362, he reports that in Bimmaley (Pangasinan), the local demon often seized the sheet that covered the above-mentioned Father Gandullo.⁴⁵ He put vinegar in the wine for Mass and told the Father so. On one occasion, the same Religious found himself surrounded by demons after the Matins prayers, overwhelmed by the heat and the fetidness of the air that the demons produced. And on page 644 he describes a demonic apparition rising before the face of a certain Father Friar Tomás, a Dominican who was reading a book in Pangasinan.

I. “Are you finished now with Bishop Señor Aduarte?”

G. “Yes, but only to warn you that I have omitted some reports not related to the demon in the Philippines.”

I. “Well, let’s get on to the second part.”

G. “The author, Father Santa Cruz, reports that the devil took over the body of a young woman to tempt a recently converted Chinese, and made her speak in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, languages she never possessed. But this occurred in China, not in the Philippines.”

I. “Let’s move on to the third part.”

⁴³ On the 1734 map, Dumangas is on the eastern coast of Panay, opposite to the small island of Guimaras nearby.

⁴⁴ This story appears in Spanish in the modernized *Conquistas* on page 610. Ambeth Ocampo kindly explains that a *disciplina* is a special kind of whip used by monks and priests for self-flagellation in order to gain divine clemency for their sins.

⁴⁵ The Bimmaley of the 1734 map is today called Bingmalay and is located a little west of Dagupan.

---- Doon sa pag. 167 ang P. Salazar na naging Rector sa Universidad de Sto. Tomas: may sinabing dalauang nangyari na ang mğa demonio naglincod sa ibang mğa Religioso nğ sila, madala sa mang lugar, ang isa nito,i, nangyari sa Cagayan.

---- ¿At ang icaapat at icalimang bahague?

---- Tila mandin hindi nag sasalita nğ anoman tungcol sa demonio. Nğayon naman cailangñan na ating basahin ang librong Conquista nğ P. S. Agustin.

---- Ito nğang cagalang galang na cronista, sumulat:

«Mairon sa harap nğ bayang nğ Sibucan (Iloilo) isang burol na bato pinangangñanlan nğ mğa indios na Banóg na ang cahuluga,i, Lauin dahilan sa caniyang hichura, sa batong ito,i, may isang demonio, na umaabala sa lacad na nag sisidaan doon cundi siya handogan nang isang biyaya at siya,i, yucuan o pugayan.»

---- Magaling; datapua nğ lalong maguing balabalaqui at calugod lugod dinguin ang pag basa ibigay ninyo sa aquin yang cronica (o historia) na dala mo sa camay at aquing babasahin, hangang cayo,i, nag hahanap nğ iba na nag sasalita naman tungcol sa mğa demonio, mğa napaquiquita o mğa bagay na ganganito.

---- Bagay bagay caibigang co, ang sagot co cay Gatmaitan; ibinigay co ang gaua ni Fr. Gaspar na agad agad binasa niya ang ganito.

Pag. 379. Maraming totoo sa ilog nğ Panay ang malulupit na buaya mainam mangain nğ tauo at ang iba,i, malabis ang lupit na

G. "On page 167, Father Salazar, who was Rector of the University of Santo Tomás, cites two cases where demons served various Religious in order to carry them off to certain places, and one of the two cases mentioned said this took place in Cagayan."

G. "Oh! What about part four and five?"

I. "They don't seem to say anything about demons . So it's better if we now turn to read the *Conquistas* of Father San Agustin."

G. "Well, this very respectable chronicler writes that 'In front of the township of Sibucan (Ilo-Ilo) there is a boulder named Banég (sparrowhawk) by the local Indios because of its shape.⁴⁶ Inside the boulder lives a demon who obstructs the passage of those walking by, unless they offer him a gift and obey him."⁴⁷

I. "Fine! But to make our reading variegated and pleasant, why don't you pass me the chronicle now in your hands, so that I can keep reading while you are looking for another which also speaks of demons, apparitions, and the like."

G. "My friend, I agree," replied Gatmaitan, handing me the work of Friar Gaspar, from which I immediately read passages in the following order.

G. Page 379: "The lake of Panay abounds with ferocious man-eating caimans, among them some of such ferocity that they devour every day

⁴⁶ Sibucan doesn't appear on the 1734 map, but it must be next door to Ilo-Ilo.

⁴⁷ This can be found on page 1056 of the modernized *Conquistas*.

cacaonti cung macacain ng isang tauo sa arao arao; wala namang mabuting paraan n̄ pagpapatain. Ang acala n̄ iba,i, yaon dao ay mangagauay at asuang na nagmumuc-ha lamang gayon n̄ pasaquitan nila ang ibig nilang gantihan at uala munti mang dahilan na ipaniuala cung datnan nila ang m̄ga taga (ó cauél), na marahil inauumang nila (sa pag huli) na nacasabit sa munting sang̃a, ng cauayan at kahoy at cung minsan hindi man mapunit ang damit n̄ nahuhuli, bagay na di magagaua ng iba cundi ang demonio. Maraming bagay na gan-ganito na naquita co, at naring̃ig cung salita sa amin na taong doroon aco sa Provinciangu yaon lubhang mahirap paniulaan

----- Caibigan (sinabat co si, Gaitmaitan) ang P. San Agustin pinag bulaanan: ang catotoohanang at marahil pa ang hindi na pag antiluhan mabuti n̄ marunong na cronista na dito sa capuluan n̄ Filipinas ay madalas macaquita n̄ isda sa loob n̄ cauayan o ibang cahoy na may guang at tubig na ito,i mapag aacala na isang ipo-ipo, malaqui nacahigop n̄ tubig sa dagat o alinmang ilog nacadala n̄ itlog n̄ m̄ga isda, o ito rin caya at napacalat sa gubat o sa pag laqui nang tubig sa m̄ga sapa.

---- Caramihan naman ang m̄ga isdang na cucuha ay ang tina-tauag nating m̄ga tagalog, Buan-buan.

---- Nacaquita na aco n̄ munting dapat maalaman. Doon sa pag 558, sa cronica n̄ franciscano Fray Juan Francisco de S. Antonio, nababasa na ang mang̃a caloloua sa Purgatorio hindi pinapagpapahing̃a (ang P. Plasencia) sa canilang madalas na pag-dalao con ang iba,i may mahigpit na cailang̃an n̄ anomang limos ay quinacalampag n̄ ingay ang m̄ga tabla nang Tarima sa munting oras na mapahing̃a sa pag tulog na guinagaua bago mag Maitines, hangan sa maquilala na yao,i, isang caloloua sa Purgatorio ó caya sa siya rin ang mag salita, humihing̃i n̄ tulong na nadadapat sa canyang m̄ga hirap.

at least one Indio, and there is no way to get rid of them. Some of them seem to be shapes taken by sorcerers and male witches to hurt people on whom they seek vengeance. There is no small foundation for believing in them. The fact is that they look for fish-hooks [amulets] with which they arm themselves, hanging them from the most slender reeds and trees; sometimes the demons also hang the clothes which they have snatched without tearing them. No one would do this kind of thing except a demon. I saw and heard many things like this during the six years I spent in that provinces, things difficult to believe.⁴⁸

"My friend," (I interrupted Gatmaitan), "Padre San Agustin was deceived. What is certain, and always misunderstood by the *ilustrado* [erudite] chronicler, is that throughout the Philippine Archipelago you will find fish among the reeds, or trees with deep holes holding water, where fish can conceive, and also (which is understandable) where spouts may have absorbed from the ocean either fish roes from another river or the same mentioned above, or the roes might have got there from flooding of the streams."⁴⁹

G. "Usually we Tagalogs call fish found in such situations *buan-buan*.

I. "Hey! I've run into something interesting, On page 588 of the *Crónica* of the Franciscan Friar Juan Francisco de San Antonio, one reads about the souls in Purgatory in this way: 'May (Father Plasencia) rest from their never-ending visits. If one of the souls has a pressing need for some kind of alms, she will make an uproar, knocking on the planks of the floor, thus shortening any restful sleep. This continues till Father Plasencia realizes that the noise comes from a soul in Purgatory, or till the soul speaks for herself, begging for the help that her torment demands.'"

⁴⁸ Drawn from pages 837 and 839 of the modernized *Conquistas*.

⁴⁹ This paragraph is almost unintelligible.

Bahaguia co pa natatapos, ang huli cung pangũngũsap, si Gaitmaitan nag tatacbo, somigao doon sa pinto at sapagca nasa-sara na hampas sa pinto ang noo masamang totoo ang lagay na bual sa sahiḡ.

Ito,i, inacala cung may lindol at sumunod naman aco tumacbo sa aquing catalo, at biglang bigla natisod co siya tuloy lumagpac naman aco sa ibabao niya at nagcauntogan cami.

Datapua mḡa guinoo, ḡano ang nangyari?

Ualang anomang isang daga nag tatacbo sa magcabicabila at sa ugong na nangyari inacala ni Gatmaitan ay anino nḡ namatay na directorcillo.

At gayon nḡa dahil cadingĩḡ pa lamang niya niyong sa mḡa caloloua na hindi patuluguin ang P. Placencia.

Capala pa ang mḡa tauong na sa labas nḡ Biblioteca nag sidalo sa inḡay ni Gaitmaitan(1) at guinamot ng tubig na maalat ang aming mḡa bucol.

Sa malaquing cahihian namin sa aming catapanḡan iniuan naming bigla ang bahay nḡ may patay.

CATAPUSAN

(1) Ang apellidong ito,i, tunay na taga Bulacan at may sarili siyang historia, sa mḡa Rajas (hari harian) ay may mababang pangĩnoon sa Luzon na cung tauaguin ay Gat; sapagca,t, ang Panginoon sa Bulacan ay nagngangalang Mai tan, ay dito nḡ galing ang uicang Gat-Maitan at itong dalauang salita ay guinamit na apellido pagcatapos.

I had scarcely pronounced the final words when suddenly Gatmaitan rushed yelling to the door. But as it was locked, he hit it so hard with his forehead that he fell to the ground.

Attributing this to his trembling, I followed my good friend quite mechanically and in such haste that I tripped up against him, crashed right on top of him, and was about to knock my poor cranium against his.

Widow. "Señores, what's happened?"

I. "Nothing! A rat ran about from one side of the room to the other, and made such a racket that Gatmaitan attributed it to the ghost of the deceased *directorcillo*."

I. "It's very clear! He had just heard the story of souls who never let Father Placencia sleep."

Sure enough, the people outside the library went inside on hearing of the uproar that Gatmaitan⁵⁰ had created, and treated the bumps on our heads with salty water.

Extremely ashamed of our exploits, we speedily abandoned the deceased man's house.

END

⁵⁰ This surname hails from Bulacan and has its own history. The rajahs, considered lower nobility in Luzon, were called Gat; while a lord in Bulacan was called Mai tan. Gatmaitan comes from these two words and was eventually used as a surname.

